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TRAVELS

THROUGH

HOLLAND,
FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,
LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
The UKRAINE,
AND
POLAND,

IN THE

Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

In which is particularly minuted,

THE PRESENT STATE

OF

THOSE COUNTRIES,

RESPECTING THEIR

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,
MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,
THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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Travels through Sweden,

Continued.

CHAP. I.

Journey from Lindſal to Hudwickſwald—The Country, and the Huſbandry carried on by the Peaſants—Horſten—Deſcription of M. de Verſpot's fine Seat at Raverſburgh—An Account of his very ſpirited Improvements.

IT was the evening of the 28th of June, before I arrived at Lindſal, which is a little inconſiderable village. From thence I ſet out next morning for Hudwickſwald, the diſtance ſixty miles, which proved a journey of two days. The night of the 1ſt I laid at Dilſbo; the country very wild and mountainous, like Dalecarlia, and not better cultivated: in ſome of the vales are ſmall villages, the inhabitants of ſome of which have little farms, but, I do not think, are quite ſo induſtrious in the management of them, as their neighbours of Dalecarlia. Dilſbo ſtands on a river near the Baltic, and has a harbour, that admits ſhips of two hundred tons burthen, yet there is hardly any trade at it: now and then, a veſſel comes for a load of timber, but it is ſeldom. From thence to

Hudwickſwald is through a flat country, pretty well cultivated, and the inhabitants much more induſtrious. I ſaw two or three large houſes, ſurrounded by conſiderable farms; gentlemen's ſeats; and the owners ſeem to carry on a huſbandry, equal to any thing, I have ſeen in Sweden in general. I found their crops, generally good; and the products riſe, upon a medium of all ſorts, to three or four quarters per acre: their dwarf beans are a favourite crop here, for I ſaw many fields of them: they do not grow more than a foot high. Another thing I found here, of which I had ſeen little before, which was, great plenty of trefoil; it is a ſort, not common in England, tho' the bloſſom is yellow; they ſow it among their corn, and for two or three years following mow or feed it; which appears to be the ſame ſyſtem, as the culture of clover and trefoil in England, and alſo ſainfoin. Artificial graſſes I have very rarely ſeen in this kingdom, and there is certainly a reaſon for it; the great plenty of wild ground and marſhes, on which the peaſants depend for the ſubſiſtance of their cattle.

——Hudwickſwald is extremely well ſituated for the Baltic trade; the harbour is ſpacious, ſafe, and admits ſhips of any burthen: there are a few merchants in the town, that are rich,

rich. They have a tolerable quay; they ſhewed me the church, which is uſually exhibited to ſtrangers, but contains not the leaſt thing worthy of obſervation. Moſt of the ſtreets are regular, clean, and ſome of them very neatly built.

Here I made enquiries after M. de Verſpot, and found, after ſome difficulty, that I muſt take the road north to a village, called Tuna, and from thence follow a road, which runs weſtward near the river, on which Tuna ſtands, and in about five or ſix and thirty miles, I ſhould come to a place called Horſten, near which, that gentleman's ſeat is.

The firſt of July I got to Tuna, the diſtance from Hudwickſwald thirty-ſix miles. The country is various; parts of it marſhy, and parts dry: a good deal of the latter is cultivated, but I ſaw no gentlemen's houſes. I found, that many of the peaſants here paid their rents in parts of the products of their land, and that their landlords ſtewards came in ſloops from Stockholm, at a certain time of the year, to receive theſe products: this is reckoned here very advantageous to the landlords, for they have the corn, &c. at a much leſs calculated value, than what they ſell it for at Stockholm, all expences reckoned; but at the ſame time, the peaſants like it better, than

being forced to find the money, which is very scarce here. They cultivate large quantities of corn, and many turneps and carrots; and have the art of fattening oxen with these roots in winter, by boiling and mashing them, and then mixing some meal of barley or oats with them: with this food their oxen and their hogs fatten very quickly, and they reckon, if the crop of roots is good, it proves, in this way of using it, one of the best a farmer can cultivate. They do not use wood-ashes in this country, which is so principal a manure in most of the parts of Sweden, through which I have passed, but depend totally on dung, which they mix up with earth, and think, it thus exceeds any other manure, that can be had. The dung of swine they reckon the most powerful.

I reached Horsten the 2d; and, fixing my bed in the house of a civil peasant, made enquiries after M. de Verspot. I was informed, that he lived about eight miles from thence; that all Horsten belonged to him, and also many more villages in the neighbourhood:—that he had the greatest estate in this country; was infinitely beloved, being a good friend to all the peasants, and encouraging them in every thing. The 3d in the morning, I set out for his house, and got there by breakfast. I was introduced to him in company of his wife,

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and ſix or ſeven children of different ages; and delivering M. le Count de Roncellen's letter, he read it with ſeeming pleaſure, and with the utmoſt politeneſs welcomed me to Raveſburg, the name of his ſeat. The Count had fully explained to him the motives of my travels through Sweden, which he was pleaſed to commend very much. He is a luſty man, of about fifty years of age, with a fine open, manly countenance, that prejudices one, at firſt ſight, in his favour. He ſpeaks French fluently; had been in England, but not long enough to learn the language. He made many enquiries after M. de Roncellen, and his improvements, while we breakfaſted; ſaid, that he had not been able of ſome years to pay him a viſit, but that he hoped once more to have that pleaſure if he lived. He told me, he had a packet for me, directed under my name, *An Engliſh gentleman on his travels through Sweden.* This he gave me in the afternoon, and I found it a letter from Baron Miſtler at Stockholm, with caſh to the amount of forty-ſeven pounds, the product of the ſale of chaiſe and horſes, which I thought a very good return in Sweden. M. de Verſpot aſked me concerning my route; and was much ſurprized, at finding that I had penetrated through the whole province of Delacarlia. He ſaid,

it was a bold undertaking, and tho' he had travelled through moſt parts of Sweden, yet he had ſeen very little of that province. I gave him a curſory account of what I had remarked among the peaſants there, with which he ſeemed to be pleaſed; and attended very much to what I mentioned of their huſbandry. He ſaid, that I had ſeen ſuch great things at the Count de Roncellen's, that every thing, he could ſhew me, would appear ſmall; tho' he had ſome improvements, which perhaps I might like to ſee, as I appeared to be fond of agriculture.

He then told me, that for twenty years he attended the government of Sweden, as a ſenator, and was long anxious to oppoſe a party, that ſeemed determined on the ruin of their country; but finding, after a ſtruggle of many years, that the voice of prudence and moderation was ſo little liſtened to, he took a long farewell of them, and retired to this eſtate, determining to make a country life, which was before only a ceſſation from buſineſs, the only buſineſs of his life; and ſince he took that reſolution, he has adhered to it without once quitting it; and from the factions, which have ariſen ſince his departure, he has had continual reaſon to rejoice at the determination. He has found, in the obſcurity of theſe moun-

mountains, a ſatisfaction, which the buſieſt ſcenes of Stockholm could never give. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy and practice of agriculture with great eagerneſs, and has always taken uncommon pleaſure in trying various experiments on different articles of culture, to diſcover the moſt profitable application of the ground; and he has found, that the only way for a Swediſh nobleman to be rich, or to improve his income in a manner that may bring no regret with his wealth, is the improvement of his eſtates. Nothing is ſo profitable, nor any thing, in Sweden at leaſt, ſo honourable. He has been much ridiculed for giving up an attention to the government of his country, to retire and paſs his days among peaſants and boors. "But experience has told me," added M. de Verſpot, "that my choice has been right; for I have increaſed my wealth at the ſame time, that I have improved the happineſs of my life." This account, which he gave me in a pleaſing candid manner, ſhewed me at once, that his ideas were congenial with thoſe of the illuſtrious Roncellen.

He did not carry me to his improvements that day; but after breakfaſt he took a walk with me, which laſted till dinner; in which I viewed the grounds around his houſe, the ſitua-

ſituation of which is one of the moſt romantic, I ever beheld. It is a very large quadrangular building around a court, ſituated on the ſide of a vaſt mountain, near the bottom, but not ſo low, as not to command a great view in front: a large track of falling ground parts the houſe from a very beautiful lake, four miles long, and one and an half broad, in which are ſeveral lofty iſlands, covered with wood, in one of which M. de Verſpot has built a ſummer-houſe, deliciouſly ſituated: on the other ſides of this lake, the country is extremely various, either irregular vales, or hills riſing very boldly, and in general covered thick with wood: the whole country belongs entirely to him for ſeveral miles every way: on the ſide of one of the hills, leſs ſteep than the reſt, he has built a new village, of above ſeventy houſes; which being raiſed of a white ſtone, has a moſt chearful and enlivening appearance. In the lake he has a ſmall ſhip of two maſts, carrying ten braſs cannon; three ſloops, and various boats; all which add uncommonly to the beauty of the ſcene. In a word, it put me more in mind of a nobleman's ornamented ſeat, in a wild part of Britain, than any place, I had ſeen, ſince I left England. We rambled for ſome miles about this fine, wild, and romantic ſcene; and returning

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to dinner, Madam de Verſpot aſked me, how I liked Raveſburg? I replied, I thought it the moſt beautiful, and at the ſame time, the moſt romantic place I had ever ſeen in my life. At which compliment, tho' indeed the mere unaffected idea I had of the place, ſhe ſeemed pleaſed; and I thought her huſband very fortunate, in having a lady that could reliſh theſe ſorts of country beauties, and enjoy a rural life, as well as the gaieties of the capital.

M. de Verſpot lives in a very plentiful, and at the ſame time, elegant ſtile.——His table is ſpread with all the delicacies, which art can procure in this northern climate; he has all the fineſt wines in Europe, and his lake furniſhes him with admirable fiſh--His eſtabliſhment may be gueſſed, when I mention his having above ſeventy menial ſervants in the houſe, one of whom has the title of captain of the guard, after the cuſtom of Sweden, who has a table, at which is his ſecretary, and two chaplains; and beſides this, there are five other tables kept; at the loweſt of which, all the peaſants, who pleaſe to come, are indiſcriminately admitted; and their number is very often great, even to ſome hundreds; but that is only on feſtivals: however, ſome take advantage of the admiſſion every day in the year. The houſe was built

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by himself from the ground, and the situation, as I before mentioned, most judiciously chosen. The apartments are amazingly numerous, and many of them very large; I think, it is the largest house belonging to a subject, which I have any where seen: there is a suite of eleven rooms, fronting the lake, not one of which is less than 40 feet long by 30 broad; they are all well furnished, each with two chimney-pieces in the English taste, though stoves are at each end of the room; and in all these stoves, and chimnies, as well as in every room in the house, are constant fires all winter. I am convinced, that in such a family as this, the depth of winter would be the season to enjoy the hospitality of the owner. My only doubt is, whether they have a society collected, sufficient to make that dreary season pass pleasantly.

In the morning, M. de Verspot made several enquiries of me concerning various objects, which I had examined in my travels in Flanders, Germany, and Denmark; when I described to him the encouragements, all the useful arts had lately met with in the last of those countries: he said, that formerly the Swedes much excelled the Danes in every thing; they were equally superior in war, commerce, and agriculture; but since faction has usurped

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the reins of the government, the kingdom hath in all things much declined. I replied, that the natural advantages of Denmark were, for the ſize of the territory, greater than thoſe of Sweden, the climate warmer, and no mountains in the whole kingdom, but what might be cultivated to the very tops; whereas in Sweden, the mountains occupy an amazing ſhare of the whole kingdom, and the climate is much ſeverer. All that, ſaid he, is very true; but what is the amount of the plains of Denmark in ſpace, compared to thoſe of Sweden? we have twenty acres to their one; and tho' our mountains cannot be cultivated, yet they in timber, iron, copper, pitch and tar, prove as valuable as the plains; and tho' our climate is much colder than that of Denmark, yet that is of no eſſential conſequnce, as we can raiſe every product, that is to be met with in Denmark.

I acknowledged the juſtneſs of theſe remarks.

Sir, ſaid he, Denmark exceeds us in nothing, but the encouragement given by the crown in favour of uſeful undertakings; whereas the caſe is very different in Sweden. We have had our encouragements too, but the miſchief is, they have been calculated more

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for the advantage of the eſtates of the ſenators, than for that of the people at large.

Upon my making enquiries concerning the object of his rural improvements, he anſwered, I will ſhew you, to-morrow morning, a large track of cultivated country, near this houſe, which, when I came to the eſtate, was all waſte; my great object has been, to bring theſe waſtes into improvement. My property in theſe wilds is ſo extenſive, that two lives, longer than mine, would be too ſhort to improve them all, but I am not idle. I keep improving—doing that land firſt, that lies neareſt to my dwelling. I am not an enemy to woods, provided they are duly regulated, and that they are confined to land, which is improper for corn and graſs. Our firs and pines thrive as well, or I think rather better, on almoſt inacceſſible mountains and ſteeps, than on plains, and more level ground: to the former, therefore, I confine them; and in the management of them, I am attentive always to thin my woods, inſtead of deſtroying the whole growth, which is the cuſtom of this country. If an acre of land has thirty trees on it, that will turn out profitable to cut; the general way of the country is to cut down all, to take away the beſt, and reduce the reſt to aſhes, for manuring the land; the con-

consequence of which management is, the land so cleared, being a long while before it is again covered with a good growth, and never, with any equal to what was before upon it; this is owing to a want of shelter. While the ground is half or three fourths covered, the young trees are well sheltered, and you have a continually thriving crop. There should not be more than from five to ten trees taken out in a year, from an acre of land, according as the soil, &c. may be. By practising this method, my woods yield me a very beneficial regular crop; I carry none but fine trees, which are sure of good price, to market; and am always in possession of as many acres at one time, as at another, instead of having large tracks laid waste by my peasants, which are some centuries before they recover themselves. Another circumstance, very well understood in England, but no where else, that I have remarked, is, attending to the fences around the woods; I keep all mine in as good order as those which surround my corn: cattle love to browze in woods, but the mischief they do is incredible: upon my system, I depend for the regular supply, on young trees being constantly on the growth among the old ones; but if cattle had admission in the common way, I should be presently disappointed

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in my expectations: this is one reaſon, why a piece of waſte is ſo long, before it becomes covered with a full growth of wood. But I make it a rule, as faſt as I advance my improvements, to leave no waſtes behind me. All, that are not proper for corn or graſs, I incloſe, with the ſame attention, as my other grounds, and ſow them regularly with ſeeds, ſo that they preſently become as good woods, as any on my eſtate. For other purpoſes, than the exportation, or uſe of fine timber, I reſerve the woods, that are ſituated on places, which would admit a profitable culture of corn or graſs; theſe I root out entirely, as they are wanted; and, as faſt as they are cleared, cultivate the land.

By means of this conduct, all the parts of my eſtate, through which I advance my improvements, are brought into profit: woods indeed, in a country, where they are ſo amazingly plentiful, will not pay me near ſo good a rent, as my cultivated land; but then, all they do pay, is clear profit, for I leave them no where, that corn and graſs could be well cultivated upon.

From this converſation of M. de Verſpot, I entertained great expectations of ſeeing many noble improvements, next morning; but he warned me, not to form too great an idea of them.

them.—"You will ſee," ſaid he, "good common huſbandry, exerciſed over a large track of land; but that ſight to an Engliſhman is nothing; he ſees it almoſt over a whole kingdom. I am ſo unfortunate, as to be at a diſtance from the ſea; our river, which carries down floats of timber, is of excellent uſe; but had I the opportunity, which my excellent friend Roncellen has, I would attempt to rival him. My eſtate would alone, furniſh employment for ten ſail of ſtout ſhips for a century to come: had I the conveniency of a port, I ſhould form a great exportation of various products, which would be an improvement, which nothing elſe can equal."

M. de Verſpot ordered an early breakfaſt, that we might have the longer excurſion before dinner. I was apologizing for being troubleſome to him; but he ſaid,—"You are much miſtaken, Sir, ſo far from being a trouble, it is giving me the pleaſure of a companion in my uſual ride, for I am never in the houſe from breakfaſt to dinner."

In the morning, we mounted, and he conducted me about a mile and half through the ornamented environs I mentioned before, and then came into a part of the lands, which he cultivates himſelf. The ſituation of the ground was, in general, that of ſome gentle

hills and plains, entirely in culture. The fields were all regularly diſpoſed in ſquares or oblongs; the fences regular and admirable; and all the gates, rails, &c. very good and neat, and all painted white, very much in the manner and appearance of many ornamented farms, I have ſeen in England. The incloſures were in general of twenty or thirty acres. The ſoil is a light loam upon a rock or flint, of various depths, but ſeldom leſs than ſix inches. M. de Verſpot obſerved, that the depth was not of any material conſequence, except for carrots, turneps, and ſome other roots; yet thoſe crops yield abundantly in only ſix inches depth, tho' not ſo greatly as when deeper. The fields were covered with wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans, buckwheat, carrots, turneps, clover, trefoil, &c. and many of them in natural graſs. The crops were all exceeding vigorous, and ſuperior to any thing in appearance, not only that I had lately ſeen, but alſo to moſt, that I recollected having taken any notice of in England. I expreſſed my ſurprize, that this northern latitude ſhould admit the crops, which I then ſaw. "Sir, ſaid he, I do not wonder at your opinion; I have heard it from ſeveral, and read much the ſame ideas in many books; nothing ſo common as, in the deſcription of countries,

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to read of the climate being ſo ſevere, that the inhabitants muſt live only on fiſhing and hunting, or produces only a few oats; twenty books, in my library, tell me, that wheat will not ſucced higher in Sweden, than the ſixtieth degree of latitude. I am convinced, that the bounty of Providence is ſuch, that all kinds of corn, pulſe, and roots, which are now on my farm, will grow every where; the great thing is to conſult the nature of the climate in the mode of culture.

In Sweden, our winters are extremely ſevere, and they come with but little intervention of autumn; they likewiſe go away ſuddenly, without ſuch a gradation of ſpring, as you have in England: ſpring and autumn, you muſt well know, are, in warmer climates, the principal ſeaſons for moſt of the operations of tillage: we are not totally without them, as ſome authors aſſert, but their duration is very ſhort. As ſoon as the ſun has thoroughly thawed the earth, and it is in order for tillage, that is the time to ſow, which is evidently evinced by the immediate vegetation, ſeen in all plants: the peaſants follow this idea very well; but the great object is the preparation of the land, in the little autumn we have. The field, which they ſow in ſpring, never had any tillage, ſince the preceding crop; ſo that

the products are small, not from the fault of the land, but for want of better tillage. The power of the sun, coming after the frosts of winter, with the one ploughing they give their fields, sets all the weeds loose; and they vegetate with vigour, like every thing else; oftentimes to the destruction of the crop. But my method has usually been to be very expeditious; the moment harvest is over, I plough up all my stubbles, before the frost catches me: by this means, when it comes, it has the greater effect; but the principal use of it is, the seeds and roots of wheat vegetating, before I plough and sow in the spring, which they will not a tenth part do, if the land was not stirred in autumn; by turning them in, at the same time, that I sow my corn, they are killed, and the crops succeed as clean, as you now see them."

This conduct struck me very much, as it appeared at once to be founded, not only in experience, but good sense. Upon my asking him, if he thought ploughing up of stubbles in autumn, would be a good practice, where the same inducement did not hold equally strong, that is in milder climates, such as England?---"There is not, replied he, the same reason for it, because your spring allows you to plow your land as often as you please,

pleaſe, before you ſow, conſequently the weeds may be deſtroyed: yet I ſhould follow the rule even in that climate; becauſe by ploughing before winter (for which likewiſe you have whatever time you want) the froſts will have much more power over the ſoil, in breaking and ſweetening it; ſo that leſs tillage would do in the ſpring, and the weeds alſo grow much more, which will render it ſo much the eaſier to kill them."—What the practice of our Engliſh farmers is in this caſe, I do not know: but it appears to be a point of conſiderable importance.

As we rode through the fields, the crops of which made ſo fine an appearance, M. de Verſpot obſerved, that of all his grain, nothing paid him better than wheat; tho' among the common farmers, they are much inclined to think that oats anſwer as well, from the largeneſs of the produce, which is much greater than wheat. My oat crops generally yield me five or ſix quarters an acre; my barley, rather more than four; wheat yields two and an half; peas as much; beans four; and buckwheat four. Theſe crops ſeeming to me to be very conſiderable, I aſked him, if he did not manure very richly for them; and how he managed in this reſpect, as he did not uſe wood-aſhes in the large quantities of the common farmers?

"I depend, replied he, entirely upon dung, formed into compoſts with the earth, I dig in draining marſhes. I have two ſtrong reaſons againſt the practice, common among the peaſants, of manuring with ſuch quantities of wood-aſhes; firſt, they ſpoil, for ages, large tracks of wood land, for they not only carry away all the aſhes, but all the ſurface of the ſoil with them; and I find my woods too profitable to deſtroy, without, at the ſame time, gaining either graſs or arable in the room of them: ſecondly, they depend ſo much on theſe aſhes, that they are apt to neglect the article of cattle, as they can manure their lands without them: but I think it an infinite loſs, not only to themſelves, but to the whole kingdom, to adopt any ſyſtem, that leſſens the general ſtock of cattle; I think, they form the moſt profitable part of huſbandry; and at the ſame time, that they are of this importance to the farmer, in the profit they yield, they are to the ſtate the foundation of the manufactures of wool and leather, which in all countries are of ſuch conſequence. Nor do their benefits ſtops here; for our corn fields are indebted to them for the fineſt crops, that cover them. Did the peaſants depend on their dung alone for manuring, they would keep more cattle, and then their general huſbandry would

would be much improved. In all my improvements, when I proportion the quantities of each crop to the reſt, I make the firſt foundation of ſuch an arrangement, the quantity of dung I ſhall want; I then provide food for ſuch a number of cattle as will, I know, yield me the requiſite quantity of dung. I have carried this idea into practice theſe many years, and always found it uniformly profitable."

Upon my enquiring further into this ſyſtem, he went on——" A very little attention would enable our peaſants to conceive the full extent of this management, and act accordingly. They all of them keep their cattle, and know well enough how to crop their fields for the maintenance of them, ſo that they would only have to proportion their ground to a greater number. They all of them feel the advantage of keeping cows, hogs, oxen, and many of them ſheep; they find nothing of a readier ſale, and in many ſituations, they are the only commodities, which, for want of roads, can be brought to market. And tho' our winter is very long, and the maintenance of them at that ſeaſon troubleſome and expenſive, yet there are few cold climates, that produce better crops for keeping them; and it is in the winter alone, that the dunghills are

made, which are of ſuch great value to all our crops. Our Swediſh turneps, of which we have two ſorts, is a moſt valuable crop; when prepared for, by ſufficient ploughings and manure, it yields a vaſt produce, which will keep ſound through the ſharpeſt winter: for the ſake of tilling my land, and being able to get at the crop at all times, I generally lay them up in barns, ſo as to be very handy for feeding all ſorts of cattle on the ſpot. We have the plants which you in England call the kales, that is, cabbages, which do not turn in with hard heads, but are all compoſed of open leaves; theſe vegetate all winter through, and the ſnows muſt be uncommonly deep, to prevent our getting at them. Carrots, I lay by in ſtores, in the ſame manner, as turneps: then we have plenty of hay and ſtraw, in common with other countries; ſo that I muſt confeſs, I ſee no reaſon for our complaing in Sweden, nor any difficulty, which our induſtrious farmer can find, in providing for the moſt numerous herds of cattle. An acre of turneps or carrots will winter-feed four cows, if they have a good portion of hay, and as much ſtraw as they like; but without any hay at all, they will keep three; which is very conſiderable, and ſhews, what may be done by a ſpirited induſtry. Our kale grows into ſuch fine crops,

crops, that, with ſtraw, an acre of it will winter ſix ſheep; ſwine are kept in the moſt advantageous manner poſſible on carrots, and even fattened upon them to great profit. But all theſe crops, to be conſiderable, ought to be very well tilled and amply manured; and if the peaſants are reſtrained from wood-aſhes, and have not any cattle, from whence is this manure to come? Hence it is, that cattle enable you to keep cattle; ſo that the more they keep, the more they might keep, if the dung is properly applied.

"Another great advantage, poſſeſſed by all wild countries, is the having great plenty of vegetables, of uſe only for being converted into litter: all our waſtes and our woods yield vaſt quantities of weeds, which, mown in their ſucculency, make excellent ſtraw for littering our cattle all winter long, which, in the raiſing much manure, is an advantage of the moſt valuable kind. They are to be gained in almoſt any quantities; but our peaſants did not ſee their intereſt in this point, as they ought; moſt of them lay in a few loads, but not a tenth part ſufficient to make as much dung as they might. I keep all my cattle littered up to their bellies, the whole winter through; by which means, my dung-hills enſure me the greateſt crops, of which the

the land is capable of yielding. So that I am confident, there is no abſolute occaſion for ſuch quantities of wood aſhes, as the Swediſh peaſants ſo much depend on."

From the view I had of M. de Verſpot's fields, as well as from his converſation, I was extremely clear, that no man could know better than he, how to raiſe great crops of all ſorts; but I deſired to know, where he found a market for his products, for I found, he had four thouſand acres in his own hands.

"I do not, replied he, meet with any difficulty in that point; my improvements in huſbandry, and in ornamenting the lands around my houſe, with the number of people that inhabit it, all together form a very conſiderable conſumption, and the reſt is ſold by my agents to whoever will purchaſe: much is bought, to ſupply the miners in the mountains; and yet more finds its way down the river by Tuna, and ſo to ſea, to the towns upon the coaſt. If I had a port, ſo conveniently ſituated, as to make it adviſeable to keep ſhipping of my own, I ſhould be able to gain a much higher price; but as I meet at preſent with rates, that anſwer very well to me, and I have neither trouble nor chances, I am contented; but if the people on my eſtate increaſe in future, as they have done lately, the whole

whole country will find a market at home, ſuperior to any thing they can get abroad.

"And from the experience I have had in this point, I have great reaſon to believe, that increaſing population brings with it every other advantage; and that moſt other improvements will follow of courſe, provided the population, ſo gained, is founded on huſbandry; that is, a certainty of food. I have never formed any manufactories, becauſe I was of opinion, that the improvement of the ſoil was the firſt and moſt profitable buſineſs, the people could be employed in; and that 'till huſbandry-improvements were advanced to the utmoſt height, all the hands, employed in the manufactures, were ſo much loſs to the ſtate.

"This reaſoning, I know, I am particular in; it will give offence to you, and would give yet more to a Frenchman.——But whether I am right or wrong, is not a point of any conſequence, ſince they generally eſtabliſh themſelves without your aſſiſtance. The number of people, I have drawn together for different works, have formed manufactories; the ready market this population carries with it, has induced ſeveral undertakers to fix ſome fabrics in my villages; there are ſome of woollen cloth, of leather, linen, hats, and hardware; they are not, it is true, conſiderable; but they

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are proportioned to the demand, and population has created them; and I have no doubt, but they will increaſe, as the population of my eſtate increaſes. Thus you may depend upon it in all caſes, that if you work ſuch improvements in agriculture, as greatly increaſes the number of people, ſuch improvements will themſelves do all the reſt; they will eſtabliſh manufactures, and bring commerce, when they arrive at a certain degree, and wealth proportioned muſt be the conſequence. Nor ſhould we forget, that when theſe kind of advantages take place of themſelves, and gradually, we may be ſure, they are natural, and permanent, and not exotics, planted by an anxious hand, and cheriſhed by an unremitting attention: ſuch muſt be more valuable, and always more certain in their nature and conſequences; and conclude from hence, that the ſolicitude, diſcovered at preſent in ſeveral parts of Europe, for eſtabliſhing manufactories is either unneceſſary or improper: if their policy is ſound, manufactures will come of courſe; if they do not come, it is proof ſufficient, that they ought not, as the hands, which they would employ, ought to be advancing the ſoil to its utmoſt improvement, before any thing is done in fabrics."

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I made ſome objections to this opinion, drawn from the example of England and Holland; but they were not of conſequence enough to inſert here.———M. de Verſpot went on———"In converſing with ſeveral noblemen in Sweden, on the ſubject of improving their eſtates, the moſt general difficulty, I have heard of, is the getting hands; but from my own experience I am clear, that this is an imaginary evil. No country could be more deſolate, or worſe inhabited than this, when I began my undertaking of improving it; but by protecting and encouraging them, building houſes immediately for all, that would ſettle, and employing them conſtantly at a fair price for their labour, they would any where command, whatever numbers they wanted, and increaſe them, as quickly as they pleaſed to any height. I am convinced, that for increaſing the population of any country, nothing more is wanting, than the improvement of land."

Having viewed a conſiderable part of the farm, we returned to dinner; and ſpent the remainder of the day in converſing on theſe ſubjects. I found him quite enthuſiaſtical in favour of agriculture; but muſt ſay, that I believe he would not, if he had the direction of the affairs of Sweden, carry theſe ideas excluſively

ſively too far, and neglect manufactures and commerce too much.

The next morning, he carried me over a different part of his farm, and ſhewed me the improvement of a very large marſh, by draining. It was converted into a very profitable meadow. He alſo carried me through a field of experiments, of fifty acres, wherein he tries every thing, that is of dubious ſucceſs, before he extends the culture through his whole farm: here he brings the recommendations of various writers to the teſt, to ſee what truth there is in their aſſertions: he is now trying ſome artifical graſſes, not yet common in Sweden, particularly ſainfoine, eſparcette, lucerne, and cytiſſus, of all which he had ſmall parcels, but he did not ſeem to ſpeak favourably of them, from what they had hitherto promiſed. He had alſo under culture ſeveral plants from Siberia, and different ſorts of wheat, to ſee, which would agree beſt with the climate. Here was alſo a ſet of trials upon dung, in order to diſcover what was the proper quantity for an acre of land. I muſt own, that this field pleaſed me better than any one I had ever viewed in my life. M. de Verſpot here gained moſt of his knowledge.—the culture of it is immediately under his own inſpection—nothing is done here, without he is preſent;

preſent; and by repeating and varying his trials, he is able to decide in every inſtance, what beſt ſuits the ſoil and climate. He obſerved to me, that no farmer ſhould be without a piece of ground, which he dedicates to this uſe; otherwiſe, he muſt either give up all idea of any improvements, or elſe try them upon too great a ſcale at firſt; which, if they are unſucceſsful, would be injurious to him: a remark, which is certainly juſt.—The evening of this day was alſo ſpent in converſation, which I found very inſtructive.

The 6th, I took my leave of him, after expreſſing how much I was obliged to him for my reception at Raverſburg, and inviting him, in caſe he ſhould ever come into England again, or any of his friends, to give me an opportunity of returning it. I had enquired of him concerning the northern provinces of Sweden; and he aſſured me, that I ſhould ſee nothing in Lapland worth going after; that as my route was to Peterſburgh, I had better keep pretty near the coaſt of the Baltic, through the two Bothnias, down to Finland, and through Nyland and Carelia; in which journey, I ſhould have an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral varieties of country and huſbandry.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Hernoſand—Pleaſing Adventure with a Swediſh Peaſant—Huſbandry—Uma—State of commerce—Pitha—Deſcription of the country—Torneo—State of the country in Eaſt Bothnia—Admirable Management of a Farmer—A Swediſh Club—Remarkable Country—Nyſlot—Wyburg.

I LEFT Raverſburgh the 6th, ſetting out for Hernoſand on the Baltic, in the province of Angermania, the diſtance ſixty miles, which took me two days, through a country very much like that, about M. de Verſpot, but very differently cultivated: ſpots in the vales were occupied by peaſants, who all ſeemed to be little farmers, but they had nothing that ſtruck me in their management. Hernoſand is a ſmall iſland in the gulf; is the capital of the province, and has a little trade in iron and timber, and is a port, to which ſome ſmall craft come, that ply backwards and forwards from Stockholm. It might be of very great advantage, that ſo large a part of this kingdom is ſituated on the Baltic, and ſurrounds the

the gulf of Bothnia in ſuch a manner, that a quick and eaſy communication is kept up between province and province, and between them all, and the capital. I know of ſcarcely any country, that has the advantage of ſuch a navigation, as this gulf, which is ſurrounded by ſo many provinces.

The 8th, I reached Scenſio, a little village on the bay of the gulf, the inhabitants of which ſupport themſelves chiefly by fiſhing; great quantities of which they dry for their winter proviſion; and there are ſome ſorts, which, when dried, they pull in pieces, and grind, and then make up in balls of fiſh bread, being mixed with a portion of barley meal. It is a very odd, and I ſhould apprehend, a very unwholeſome diet. They have but little idea of huſbandry here; which would make one think, that it is in general carried on in the villages, merely as a means of exiſtence, by raiſing food, and ſeldom, as a trade, wherewith to get money, in order to purchaſe neceſſaries. The peaſants, in every part of Sweden, go to market for fewer commodities, than we, in England, can have any conception of. Their huſbandry, hunting or fiſhing, feeds them; moſt of their cloathing is of their own manufacture; many of them with wooden ſhoes of their own making; ſo that ſalt and

ſome brandy are the chief articles, that many of them purchaſe.—This was a journey of near forty miles.—The 9th, I went near as far to get to Grunſud: the country is chiefly peopled with fiſhermen, but they have more culture among them, than in that of yeſterday's route. Many of them have little farms, and ſeem to be much more at their eaſe, than thoſe that are mere fiſhermen. From this place to Una in Weſt Bothnia, at the diſtance of ſeventy miles, took me a day and a half; the country is pretty well cultivated. I lodged at the houſe of a peaſant, who had a ſmall farm of his own, and is, I believe, the moſt contented, happy man in the world. I offered him money; but he would take none, ſaying, that when he travelled through my country, he dared to ſay, I ſhould not refuſe him a night's lodging, and ſome victuals.——The honeſt man did it from a mere principle of genuine hoſpitality. Money, ſaid he, is of very little value to me; my farm ſupplies myſelf and my family with moſt neceſſaries; and plenty to ſell, for the little we want to buy. He had a wife, two ſons, and two daughters; and the whole family ſeemed animated with the father's ſpirit.——There was a chearfulneſs, a health, and an activity in them all, that convinced me, they were ſuperlatively happy. The employment of the

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three men was to hunt, ſhoot, and fiſh, and do the moſt laborious works of the huſbandry; the women ploughed and ſowed the ground, and did moſt of the other buſineſs of the farm, that was within their ſtrength, and manufactured woollen cloth for all the family. The ſale of their ſuperfluities bought them, whatever they wanted to purchaſe, ſuch as ſalt, implements, ſome linen, &c. and they had money enough always left, after paying their taxes, to lay up ſomething againſt emergencies. I think this is as compleat a repreſentation of rural happineſs, as can exiſt.—This family have nothing to fear.—They are as independent as an abſolute monarch, and much more at their eaſe. It was with pleaſure, I entered into the particulars of their living, and found a cottage, that was the conſtant reſidence of peace and content. It is in ſuch ſituations and circumſtances, that we ſhould look for happineſs; not in towns, nor in the palaces of kings, or the ſeats of gentlemen, but in the humble cottage, where no knowledge enters, but what is applied to utility.

Una, where I arrived the 21ſt, is one of the moſt conſiderable towns in Weſt Bothnia. It is ſituated on a very fine large river, which falls into the gulf: there is a good harbour for

ſhips, and the place has a pretty briſk trade in timber, iron, pitch, tar, &c. and having two or three merchants, of large property, to whom ſeveral ſhips belong, they carry on here a trade with Holland and England, loading out with the products of the countries around the gulf, and bringing home a great variety of commodities, which they ſell in all the ports around the Baltic, in Sweden, Ruſſia, Livonia, Poland, Pruſſia and Germany. It is of very great advantage to a town to be inhabited by a few ſuch extenſive traders; for the profits center in it; they employ their townſmen in their ſhipping, and export much more products, than would be done, if it were not for them. Theſe merchants alſo much enrich the place by their ſhip-building; for they have never leſs than three or four on the ſtocks at a time: theſe ſhips they ſell, wherever they can get a market, cargo and all, which they often do to good advantage; and this I take to be the moſt beneficial commerce, which Sweden, or any other country, that abounds with plenty of naval ſtores, can carry on; for by building ſhips for ſale, ſhe gives the laſt hand in manufacturing all her products, and conſequently employs as many of her people as poſſible; but when ſhe ſells the timber, iron, pitch, &c. ſeparately, the nations, that buy them, make this

this laſt profit, which is a very conſiderable one. No government, therefore, can ever give a wiſer bounty, than that of ſo much per ton, for all ſhips built in a country; it is the moſt advantageous commerce her ſubjects can carry on. Louis XIV. was certainly well adviſed by Colbert to give this bounty; and it was attended with as good effects, as any other meaſure in that ſucceſsful adminiſtration.

It took me two days to reach Scornfay, at the diſtance of fourſcore miles. I took up my quarters the firſt night at a village, where, for the firſt time ſince I have been in Sweden, I met with a ſet of barbarians: I could perſuade none of them to let me into their cottages; they were ſure I was a ſpy from the Muſcovites; on what errand, or for what purpoſes I was come, they could not tell. We were now benighted, and in a road, of which we had no good accounts; ſo I found, I was very likely to paſs the night on horſeback: I went from cottage to cottage, but all were poſſeſſed of the ſame idea; none would be hoſpitable. Going yet further, I came to a cottage in a lonely ſpot; I determined here to force an entrance, and ſeize the caſtle by ſtorm, in caſe they would not be prevailed on by fair and mild requiſitions: but ſtill it was in vain;

they had no room for us: tho' we offered to pay for every thing we ſhould eat and drink, and for our horſes, yet it had no effect. I gave a ſignal (which I had explained to my men) for one of them to march round, and attack the fortreſs in flank, while I remained to ſtorm it in front. The plan was executed in a moment: I drew my piſtols, preſented them to the breaſt of the peaſant; my men bound him hand and foot; and we ſecured the women and children, tying all their hands behind them, and locking them up in a room, with the poſtilion armed as a ſentinel over them: then we took poſſeſſion of the manſion, feaſted on the coarſe proviſions we found, and I ſet up my bed in one of the rooms. I paſſed a good night, without any alarm from the priſoners. In the morning, I ſet forward on my journey, leaving the inhoſpitable owners of the cottage, bound, till their neighbours cloſe to their door, and in ſight of the road, ſhould accidentally come to their relief.

Scornfay is a little town, at the foot of a mountain, with a river running under its walls, near as large as the Thames at Chelſea; the ſhores are very bold, and all covered with wood. I have ſcarcely ſeen a more romantic and ſtriking ſituation: large ſhips come up to the quay, tho' at a conſiderable diſtance from

from the sea; these load timber chiefly, and in general for the Holland market. There are not any merchants of substance in the town, and their trade does not seem to be at all regular; sometimes they have three or four vessels in port, and they informed me, that, many weeks, none at all were to be seen.

From Scornfay, two days journey carried me to Tame, through a country various; but about the villages, there is in general some cultivated land, enough to feed and maintain the inhabitants, and to enable them to buy of the shipping, what they wanted, which their own soil could not furnish. There are no shops or pedlars upon this coast, except in the more considerable towns: all the peasants and inhabitants buy what they want out of small sloop traders, which make annual voyages up the gulf of Bothnia from Stockholm. This place is in 65 degrees of latitude; and yet I perceived no change in the climate, or in the husbandry. They cultivate the same plants, as are to be seen to the southward, and apparently with the same success. Probably, the increased length of day, proportioned to the degree of north latitude, enables them to cultivate the crops of the southern latitudes. Barley is a tender grain, and more congenial to the cli-

mate in Spain than any other; yet they have good crops of barley here; and I am aſſured, they alſo ſow it with ſucceſs in Lapland; ſo that theſe moſt uſeful plants are, by Providence, ſent to almoſt all countries.

The 26th I got to Pitha, the diſtance near thirty miles, through a country, in general of a marſhy ſoil, which ſome of the peaſants have converted, by draining outſpots, into profitable meadows; and indeed, I have ſeen in few places more induſtry, than is apparent in theſe people. Upon the drier riſing grounds they have crops of turneps and kale for their own and their cattle's winter proviſion, the meadows affording them nothing at that ſeaſon. They keep large herds of ſwine, and feed them in winter on regular truſſes of boiled roots, mixed with ſmall quantities of peas; and they ſeem to reckon their hogs among the principal articles of their wealth.

Pitha is a pleaſant little ſea port, tolerably well built; at which they carry on a ſmall coaſting trade, and export ſome timber, &c. I met with a better inn here, than I had done for a long while before, and a very civil, intelligent landlord. He gave me for my ſupper an excellent diſh of fiſh, and a piece of very tender good veniſon, with ſome French wine, than which I had drank worſe. All this made deli-

delicate fare, compared with what I met with at the peaſant's; and my reckoning was very reaſonable. I aſked the landlord ſome queſtions about the preſent ſtate of the town, and the neighbouring country. He ſaid it was a poor town, and ſtill a poorer country; that if it was not for a little ſhipping, now and then, they would have no ſuch thing as money among them. He ſaid trade declined, and there was no proſpect of ſeeing things better. He entered into a long diſſertation upon the politics of the times, and was deep read, I found, in the Stockholm gazette.

My next day's journey, the 27th, was to Lula, another ſea port town, ſtanding on the mouth of a very fine river, which is navigable a good way, and comes far, from the inner parts of Lapland, &c. Here is a briſker coaſt trade carried on than at Pitha, becauſe the inland navigation is much more conſiderable. They have ſhips very often from Stockholm, which bring various commodities in exchange for the products of theſe provinces, which conſiſt of timber, pitch and tar, and many furs; which find a good market in the capital. They are ſometimes viſited by Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which they reckon highly advantageous to them; and from the appearance of their ſtocks of timber, I ſhould think them

them very well provided for loading any ships whatever. They have one or two pretty considerable merchants among them, who build ships here, then load them with timber, and next, send ship and cargo to be sold in Holland upon commission. The profits of this, they said, are not great; but when their seamen are out of employment, and they have the opportunity of building cheap, it pays them something for their trouble and risque.

The 28th, I set out for Torneo, through a country very wild and mountainous, with but few villages in it; and as to a gentleman's seat, I had not seen one for several days. They have some appearance of cultivation around their cottages; but it is only for their own subsistance: there is enough, however, to shew, that high as the latitude of this country is, (it is about 66°) it would produce plentifully for a numerous people; but it is very thinly inhabited. Through all the provinces of Sweden that I have yet travelled, I am convinced, that the principal cause of the country being so thinly inhabited, is the small number of farmers; there being only peasants, with land enough round their cottages, for the subsistance of the people within them. Many of these little spots belong

belong to them; and none of their children will ever brook the living in a worſe manner, than their fathers did, which ſeems to be a prevalent idea amongſt them: ſo that a family, in this ſituation, are ſure to leave but one repreſentative, unleſs ſome gentleman builds cottages, and gives away his land around them, which, it may eaſily be imagined, is not very common. This prevents marriages among the ſons; for, as they cannot have their own cottages and lands, they live at home unmarried, with the brother who inherits: thus little or no increaſe happens, unleſs by mere accident. But if all theſe peaſants lived in hired cottages, without any land, and the country was cultivated by great farmers, who could afford to pay them money for their labour, the farmers would grow ten times the produce, which is now produced, and export all, that was not conſumed; which would be a conſtant motive to them to increaſe their buſineſs, and, of courſe, to fix their ſons in other farms. In the caſes of ſome patriotic perſons, who have made improvements in huſbandry, and built houſes, we found, before, that the people increaſed as faſt as could be wiſhed.

Torneo ſtands better than any other town on the gulf, for the trade of Lapland, which

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is not inconſiderable in furs, ſome of which are very valuable. It lies near three conſiderable rivers, which flow through all Swediſh Lapland, and open a ſmall commerce with Norway and Muſcovite Lapland; ſo that at Torneo I found more ſhipping, than I had ſeen at any place, I had lately been at on this ſea. Ships come from Stockholm hither, laden with all ſorts of neceſſaries for theſe northern provinces, and carry their products back in return. Hence the town is tolerably well built, the ſtreets broad and ſtraight, and very well paved, and ſome of the merchants, of which there are a good number, very rich. They build ſhips, and fit them out on trading voyages, and make every effort to employ their money ſo, as it may bring in good intereſt; but, with all their endeavours, they are not able to increaſe the trade of the place, further, than what the ſame men could carry on at any other; which is owing to a want of population, and wealth in the country behind them; ſo that they are much limited in the commodities, they export, and alſo in the quantity of thoſe, they import. And indeed, it is generally found, that agriculture, well purſued, muſt increaſe the people very much; manufactures will next ariſe, to ſatisfy their greateſt wants; and then comes commerce,

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to ſupply the reſt. This is the natural chain, and it is in vain to think of breaking or reverſing it.

July 31ſt, I left Torneo, and reached Coyrannum, a little town on the coaſt, which is ſubſiſted chiefly by fiſhing. The inhabitants, in the moſt northerly parts of the two Bothnias, have a different appearance from the Swedes in the ſouthern provinces of the kingdom; they are leſs informed, of a ſhorter ſtature, and more irregular in their dreſs, many of them, ſewing together the ſkins of foxes, and other wild creatures, whoſe furs are not of value, and make their cloathing, in a much rougher and more ordinary manner; nor are they ſo intelligent or comprehenſive; but they are a very ſimple and harmleſs people, and appear to be very humane. I found moſt of them, exceedingly reſpectful and civil. Their ordinary ſalutation is not bowing like the Swedes in other parts: theſe countrymen take hold of your right-hand, and lay it over their left, making ſtrange faces at the ſame time. The next town, of the leaſt conſequence, is Salo, which carries on a very ſmall trade, as they informed me; the diſtance is near eighty miles, which I performed in two days. And here let me ſay a word or two in praiſe of the little Dalecarlian horſes, which

which have brought me with ſuch expedition through ſome of the moſt dangerous roads in Europe, and without once having failed us, tho' ſix in number; and I think, they look as well, as before they ſet out on a journey of ſo many hundred miles. I have ſo great a value for them, that I am determined to carry them to England; and I am now ſo accuſtomed to the hard exerciſe of riding thirty or forty miles a day, that I feel not the leaſt inconvenience from it.

Auguſt the 2d, I got to Salo; the country, through which I travelled, not mountainous, being in general a plain, riſing into ſmall hills; much of it well cultivated; and, what ſurprized me, by farmers, who hire of the landlords, conſiderable tracks of land: their chief riches are cattle; they have large droves of black cattle, many ſheep, and numerous herds of hogs. The method, in which theſe farmers pay their labourers, the peaſants, is in kind: thoſe, who attend the ſheep, have ſo many kept for them with the farmers; the hogs the ſame; and the men, who take care of the cattle, have ſome cows kept for them. The landlords rent is paid in corn and cattle. All this is neceſſary, in a country, where money is amazingly ſcarce. They ſow wheat, and all the other ſorts of grain, pulſe and roots,

roots, which I have ſeen in other parts of Sweden; tho' I do not think, their crops are ſo good, as in mountainous tracks; which, I apprehend, is for want of equal ſhelter, and the ſoil not being ſo good as in ſmall vales, that receive the waſh of many mountains. The turnep and carrot crops, with fields of kale, they cultivate, I was informed, more to the north, than any place where I have been; which ſhews how valuable theſe plants are for ſupporting themſelves and their cattle. There are ſome ſhip loads of different ſorts of proviſions, that go every ſummer from Salo, for Stockholm and the ſouthern parts of the Baltic; they do not get money in return, but ſuch manufactures and commodities, as they want.

My next route was to Nicarlby, a little ſea port town, with ſome trifling commerce, near ninety miles from Salo. I did not get there till the 5th, twice taking up my lodging with very hoſpitable farmers. One of them, at a little village called Koninglens, was much ſuperior in his ideas, and in his huſbandry, to any thing I had ſeen of late; and this was a pleaſing circumſtance to me, as I got to his houſe early in the afternoon. I took a walk with him through the fields, neareſt to his dwelling; and the accounts, he gave me, appeared

peared very rational. His crops were all very fine and clean; and I obſerved, that his corn fields were very numerous, and of large extent, ſpreading over ſeveral hills within ſight; the ſize of his farm exceeding in the whole a thouſand acres, and a great portion of it under culture. He gets two quarters of wheat an acre, and ſometimes more, three quarters of barley and beans, and ſometimes four of oats; and his root crops all appeared very good. He told me, there were ſeveral other farms in the neighbourhood, and that all of them belonged to the baron Bothmer, who reſided conſtantly at Stockholm; that money was ſo ſcarce in this country, that the other tenants paid the agent in kind for rent; but he finding that this was a great loſs to them, from the low prices, at which the products were reckoned, thought of paying in money; and this he planned, from having once uſed the ſea. All the products of their farms were at double the price, at Stockholm, to what the landlords agents allowed for them. This induced him to buy a ſloop of fifty tons, and to hire a couple of ſailors, to try a voyage to Stockholm in September, carrying a loading of wheat, barley, pork, beef, mutton, wool, furs, &c. and made it up with timber. The experiment turned out as he could wiſh: he kept

kept his ſloop, perſuaded one of the ſailors to live with him on ſhore, as well as aboard, and made an annual trip upon the ſame buſineſs for ſeveral years, paying his rent in money. He found this ſcheme ſo very advantageous, that, as his huſbandry increaſed, by improving the bad and waſte lands of his farm, he found, he could load his veſſel twice with the marketable produce of his farm, beſides what he diſpoſed of in the neighbourhood; and he has now increaſed it to three voyages, which he makes regularly every year, and he himſelf ſells the cargo. He has built a kind of ſhed over a dry dock, where he lays up his ſloop, and is very careful of her. She will not hold out many years longer; however, he propoſes buying one of 80 or 100 tons, finding the method he purſues, of ſo much conſequence to his profit; for this ready ſale of his products enables him every year to make improvements. He has, ſince he acted thus, improved a piece of the waſte belonging to his farm every year; which he will continue to do, until all is in culture. I ſhould obſerve, that his farm lies remarkably well for executing this work; for it is all on the ſea coaſt; and there is a ſmall creek runs up into a pent, near his houſe, which has depth of water, ſufficient for a ſhip of two hun-

dred tons; but, at the ſame time, that he enjoys this advantage, there are hundreds of other farms, equally well ſituated, around the gulf of Bothnia, whereof the farmers have no notion of making ſuch an uſe.

I muſt remark, that this inſtance is a proof, among many others of a different nature, of the great conſequence of a regular market for the farmer in all countries to depend upon. This active and enterprizing man ſtruck out ſo original a way of diſpoſing of his products, merely for want of a market at home: had he been poſſeſſed of that, he certainly would not have been at the expence of finding one, at ſo great a diſtance. Thus improvements in huſbandry are not at their higheſt value, nor indeed can be undertaken in their due extent, without a market, for the products ſo raiſed, being gained. There are many ways of obtaining it: the increaſe of population, cauſed by the improvements, takes ſome; manufactures, to the full amount of the people's wants, provide more mouths, which carry off another large portion; and then commerce muſt be brought in, to carry off the remainder; firſt, by the number of people ſhe fixes on the ſpot; and ſecondly, by exportation: then the having gained a full market for all, that can be produced, is ſuch an encouragement to the claſs,

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who cultivate the ſoil, that they will neceſſarily carry their improvements very far: Not ſo far, however, as they are capable of going, without being puſhed on by encouragement and example from thoſe above them. Of this truth, we ſee inſtances every day, in the countries beſt peopled, and in general beſt cultivated, and where all the products of the lands ſell at as high prices as any where elſe. Thus in England, what conſiderable tracks of land are at this day, as wild as if they were in the latitude of Lapland, and amounting, according to the accounts of many knowing perſons, to a ſeventh part of the kingdom? With us no encouragements, no markets are wanting. What therefore ſhould be the reaſon of ſuch a ſtrange neglect? It can be owing to nothing, but the ignorance and obſtinacy of our lower ſort of people, who will not be perſuaded, that any land can be good for uſe, that was not cultivated by their forefathers; and this ſupineneſs we find amongſt men, who ſhew themſelves ſo well qualified in the management of land already in culture. Therefore, as none of theſe motives are ſtrong enough for bringing into cultivation the waſte lands of any county, it is abſolutely neceſſary, that public laws and private endeavours be made to co-operate; which cannot be done,

without making it the intereſt of landlords to undertake and encourage improvements, beyond that ſtanding intereſt, which the profit of the work always carries with it: for inſtance, it might be adviſeable to lay heavy taxes upon waſte lands, as long as they continued uncultivated; and, in caſe, any old cuſtoms or rights, ſuch as that of commonage upon them, ſhould obſtruct ſuch beneficial laws, then to aboliſh all ſuch antient cuſtoms, and allow every man to incloſe, and do, what he thought beſt, with every part of his own property. There are many other means, which might be put in execution, in order to puſh on all men to a vigorous reſolution to improve the waſtes belonging to them; and if the ſubject was conſidered, with any degree of attention, numerous methods might be found for effectually anſwering the purpoſe.

It is very ſurpriſing, that I ſhould not, in travelling ſo many miles upon the ſea coaſts of Sweden, have met with more inſtances of this penetration, than the ſingle one of the farmer in queſtion. This kingdom has a vaſt line of coaſt, numerous bays, gulfs that jet far into the provinces, with very many navigable rivers; and, at the ſame time, that theſe opportunities are ſo abundant, a vaſt track of country lies adjacent to them, in the higheſt

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want of them, and to which they would be of ſuch uſe, as to advance the value of the lands very conſiderably. Surely, this ſhould be a very great motive to all the landlords upon theſe coaſts, who reſide upon their eſtates, to put in practice, means ſo much at their command, of advancing the value of them.

Nicarlby is a place of no great conſideration. They told me, it was once a town, that carried on a great trade; but when the Ruſſians over-run the province, they burnt it to the ground, and quite ruined ſeveral of the greateſt merchants in it; ſince which, it has never recovered its trade, the commerce at preſent carried on here, not being at all conſiderable. It is not however badly built, and the ſtreets are regular. The church is ſmall, but very neat. They have a trifling manufacture of very coarſe woollen goods, for the ſupply of the neighbouring country; but it does not ſeem to be in a flouriſhing ſituation.

The 6th, I got to Vero, another little town on the gulf, with an exceeding good port, and a tolerably built quay, which is the only good ſtreet in the town. There is a little trade upon the coaſt, and to Stockholm, which conſiſts principally of timber. There are not

above ſeven or eight hundred ſouls in the place, and it appears to be but a poor one. Waſſay, which I reached the 7th, is a place of greater note; it has more trade; and ſeveral merchants, tolerably wealthy, inhabit it, who have ſhips of their own, in which they export large quantities of timber; but they want a home demand, to load their veſſels back again; for the country behind the town, after a few miles, is one continued foreſt, without any cultivated ſpots or villages, and reaches from hence quite to the White Sea, through ſeveral Ruſſian provinces, at the diſtance of near ſeven hundred miles, and ſcarcely any inhabitants to be found the whole way. I came accidentally by this knowledge; for, juſt after I had ordered ſupper, the landlord of the inn came in to inform me, that in the next room were a ſet of gentlemen of the town, aſſembled at a club, who, underſtanding, there was a ſtranger in the houſe, ſent their compliments to him, inviting him to ſpend the evening with them. I thought, I might as well make myſelf acquainted with a Swediſh club, and therefore returned for anſwer, that I ſhould be very happy in waiting on them; but it was my misfortune, not to underſtand Swediſh, and I had

had no interpreter but my ſervant. They replied, that if I underſtood French, they had one among them, who could converſe with me; if not, deſired I would bring my interpreter. This was very well; ſo I went to them, and upon my entering the room, they all aroſe, and received me after the manner of the country. There were nine of them; one, who ſeemed to be the principal man amongſt them, and who was the gentleman, that underſtood the French language, was a very corpulent man, who complained of being much afflicted with the gout. I found, he was a merchant in the town, who had formerly been captain of a merchant ſhip; and I obſerved, that they gave him the title of Captain, by way of honour; tho' I ſhould have thought it, for a man of property, rather a reflection. He was about fifty years old, a lively, talkative fellow, had travelled almoſt every part of the world; and as ſuch extenſive travelling, tho' aboard a merchant ſhip, is very uncommon, in the remote provinces of Sweden, I perceived, they conſidered him almoſt as an oracle, and gave way to his opinion in moſt points. He craved my name, my country, and my buſineſs in Sweden, tho' in a good-natured way. Upon my ſatisfying him in all theſe particulars, and his informing

his friends of it, I found, I gained much in all their good graces, by thinking their country worth viewing thro' curiosity. The rest of the company appeared to be merchants, captains of ships, and the better sort of shopkeepers, but all decently and neatly dressed, and seemed, from the manner in which things were conducted, to be people of substance. The worst of their company was their pipes; they all smoaked tobacco incessantly; and as the room was but a small one, I thought, I should have been suffocated at first. They made many enquiries after England, and our manners and customs in many particulars; in which I satisfied them, much to their apparent entertainment. I, in my turn, questioned them about the manufactures and commerce of their town and neighbourhood, and they gave me an account of every thing, they could, and I believe, a very just one. They said, the trade of their town was at a very low ebb; that it was too inconsiderable a place, and the country around it too thinly inhabited, to furnish much trade; but that they traded a good deal all around the Baltic, being satisfied with commerce, where-ever they found it; that they generally loaded timber for England or Holland, and then got a freight to where-ever they could; if not

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on the merchant's account, to whom they ſent the timber, yet on their own, by taking in a cargo of ſuch goods, as they could get off at ſome port or other in the Baltic, and never loſing any opportunity to ſell ſhip and all. This commerce, on an average of ſeven years, pays, they aſſured me, very poor intereſt for their money: now and then, they meet with lucky voyages, that anſwer greatly; but ſometimes, they are forced to go from port to port, in England and Holland, before they can ſell a cargo, and perhaps at laſt, after a great loſs of time, under prime coſt and charges; ſo that they ſhould not make ſuch ventures, were it not, that all their trade depends upon keeping ſome ſhipping in motion, by forcing things in this manner. The moſt profitable part of theſe voyages is the ſale of the ſhip, when it happens, and that they endeavour to puſh as much as poſſible, tho' at low prices, in order to keep their ſhip carpenters together, by finding them conſtant work. One of them ſaid, "Ah! Sir, we muſt be very induſtrious, through a long life, before we can make a ſmall fortune:" which indeed, from the deſcription of their trade, I thought true enough.

Upon my enquiring after their manufactures, they ſaid, they had none, except a fabric

bric or two of very coarſe woollens, for the peaſants wear; and that was carried on, merely becauſe imported goods of that ſort were prohibited, tho' they could buy them in England, and ſell them at Waſſay, much cheaper, than their own manufacturers could make them. But, ſaid they, trade is ſhackled and deſtroyed by the regulations, prohibitions and laws lately made; ſo that if our governors go on much longer, as they have done of late, we ſhall have no trade at all; not a ſhip to navigate. We could get cargoes of many ſorts of goods in England, that would go off well in Sweden, but we are prohibited; and for no good reaſon; for we ſhould not pay for them with money; we could get all with timber, iron, pitch, tar, and hemp. This would keep our ſhips employed; whereas your countrymen, finding, that we do not take your goods, go to the Danes and the Muſcovites. And for that matter, who can blame you? The fault is all in our government.

I could not help ſmiling at the warmth of the honeſt merchant who ſaid this; and, from what I have, at various times, heard, ſince I left Stockholm, I muſt confeſs, I do not ſee the policy of laws, in relation to trade, which have been lately made in Sweden. The merchants complaining is a rule, very

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rarely a falſe one, to judge by. It may be ſaid, that theſe traders and captains viſibly concern themſelves with nothing more, than getting freights for their ſhips, and would like any trade, however detrimental to the kingdom, provided it anſwered their purpoſes. But in reply to this, it might be obſerved, that the ſtate of the caſe in queſtion ſtrikes out all ſuch ſuppoſitions; for they wanted to trade to a country, againſt whom the balance always was, in every period of the mutual commerce; conſequently, a ſafe and an advantageous trade, upon the very appearance of it. They alſo wanted to load their ſhips out, as well as home, being equally deſirous of carrying out their own products, as bringing home our manufactures. At the ſame time, that theſe unfavourable circumſtances appear, the navigation of Sweden is enlarged, and the moſt valuable part of all her manufactures, ſhipbuilding, extended: ſo that her eagerneſs to make her ſubjects manufacture every thing for themſelves, was aiming at an impoſſibility, and being, in all the intermediate ſteps, much too precipitate.

Upon my enquiring into the ſtate of the country to the eaſt of Waſſay, they told me, it was one unbounded and almoſt uninhabited foreſt; that no cultivation was to be met with,

with, till I came to the province of Savolaxia, and that nine villages out of ten in that country were deſtroyed by the Ruſſians, and the people carried off, and ſettled in waſte tracks in Ingria and Carelia, where they were ſo well treated afterwards, having good lands given to every family, houſes built for them, and furniſhed; cattle given them and implements to cultivate the ground with, and at the ſame time, no taxes taken of them; that they found themſelves happier under the Ruſſian deſpotiſm, than under their own free government; and, as a proof of this, they have drawn away whole villages from our provinces. Upon my enquiring, if it was owing to any evils, attending the climate or ſoil, or its products, that ſuch a vaſt country was in ſo wild a ſtate; they replied, that, on the contrary, it was a country, which would ſupport very numerous inhabitants; for the ſoil in the vales, and upon the gentle hills, was ſuppoſed to be equal to any in Sweden; and that they had lands, much more to the north, in a ſtate of profitable culture; that the foreſts are full of very fine timber, which would aſſiſt the inhabitants conſiderably in all their undertakings: In a word, that much of it was a very deſirble country, and wanted little, beſides people to inhabit it.

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This inſtance of ſo large a track of country being uninhabited, and the emigrations to Ruſſia, I muſt own, made a ſtronger impreſſion on me, in disfavour of the preſent government, than all the circumſtances, I had heard before; for I take it to be, of all others, the ſtrongeſt proof in the world, that there is an eſſential miſchief, preying in the vitals of a country, when its inhabitants leave it, to ſettle in the lands of other potentates. Men, who are brought up to the arts, or to commerce, and are the inhabitants of towns, often emigrate, without a country, being in any reſpect on the decline, and even without its being a ſign of any evil in the government; becauſe there are always unquiet ſpirits, and broken fortunes, in thoſe claſſes, that will ever be rambling: but for the peaſants to find their lot ſo hard, as to quit the country of their fathers, from a proſpect of meeting with a better fate in another, and even in an enemy's country, is perhaps, of all other proofs, that could be brought, the ſtrongeſt, to ſhew, that a government is very bad, or very badly adminiſtred.

One in the company, upon ſeeing me ſolicitous in theſe enquiries after theſe tracks of waſte country, ſaid, "If you are a gentleman of curioſity in theſe things, you may con-

convince yourſelf of it: I have a ſmall eſtate on the north point of the Holla lake, where are a family or two, I have ſettled on it; I now and then take an excurſion thither, for the amuſement of ſhooting and fiſhing; if you will accompany me thither, I will attend you, and, perhaps, I may ſhew ſome ſporting, you will like. I thanked him for this offer, which pleaſed me, on the firſt mention of it, but I told him, that I feared I ſhould be troubleſome to him in it, and that if he did not undertake the journey ſoon, it would not be in my power to accept the kind offer, becauſe I was under a neceſſity of travelling ſome hundreds of leagues before winter. My good-natured Swede anſwered, that my company, ſo far from being a trouble, would be a pleaſure to him, and that he would ſet out, as ſoon as I pleaſed, as the time was perfectly equal to him; that his friend Mr. Schronburn (in the company) was to go with him, and he believed, ſetting out ſoon, would ſuit him too; which being aſſented to, the 9th in the morning was fixed for our departure. Upon my ſaying that I was bound for Peterſburgh, they informed me, that I might have the choice of two roads; either acroſs Swediſh Finland to Abo, if I wanted to ſee that province, and then to coaſt the gulf of Finland to Peterſburg;

terſburg; or elſe, that I might ſtrike down ſouth-eaſt to Wyburg, and ſo to Peterſburg, which would be a very ſhort cut. This I ſaid, I would conſider of. I aſked Mr. Hirzel (for that was the name of the merchant who made me the offer) how many miles it was to his eſtate? he ſaid about one hundred and twenty, which would be near three days journey, if I was well mounted. He ſaid, there was a cottage, about forty miles from Waſſay, where we could lodge the firſt night; but that the ſecond muſt be ſpent on our horſes, for there were no more houſes. This is no great inconvenience, in a climate, that has ſuch long days.

This point being ſettled, we proceeded in our converſation, and ſupper relieved me, for a time, from the effluvia of their pipes. They had ordered the beſt entertainment, the town could afford: the fiſh was the principal, and the beſt part; there was alſo wild fowl and veniſon. The wines were tolerable, ſome from Spain, but chiefly Rheniſh; however, there were three or four in the company, that ſeemed to pay their addreſſes to a bottle of brandy, more than to any other liquor; for they had drank it ſeveral turns, as if it was a common beverage. All the people, in theſe northern kingdoms, are immoderately fond of

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ſpiritous liquors: the ſeverity of a long winter leads them into it ſo much, that they do not eaſily leave it off in the ſummer, and the exceſs to which they carry it, is very prejudicial to their health. After ſupper they all took to their pipes again, to my no ſmall mortification; and puſhing the bottle about pretty briſkly, they were not long, altogether ſo clear-headed, as I could have wiſhed for, in order, to have gained ſome more intelligence.

As it was ſettled, that I ſhould be in town all the next day, the principal among them, the captain, invited me to dine with him, and, at the ſame time, aſked as many of the company, as their avocations would allow. I accepted his invitation, and went accordingly, and found a company of ſix or ſeven; among whom was a clergyman, an elderly man, of an agreeable aſpect; as he did not underſtand French, I was ſome time with but little converſation with him; but he aſking me, if I ſpoke Latin, I was taken by ſurprize, and after a little confuſion, recollected myſelf enough, to carry on a tolerable converſation with him afterwards, and found him a ſenſible, modeſt man. I aſked him his opinion of the preſent ſtate of Sweden, mentioning what had been told me the night before. He ſaid, the account was a very true one, as to all

all this country: I replied, laws that were general, muſt generally affect the whole kingdom, and be equal every where; he ſaid no; that there were great exceptions in many inſtances in favour of the nobility, and their lands. Upon my mentioning the ſubſtance of ſome converſations, I had had with a nobleman of Stockholm (meaning Baron Miſtler), he ſaid, that it was partly true, but moſtly in reference to the nobility; and aſſured me, that in ſeveral inſtances, Sweden was in a very indifferent condition.

Part of this (as I juſt now remarked) is, I believe, true; and, as I have elſewhere obſerved, there is alſo great appearance of general good, in the regulations and laws lately made for the encouragement of uſeful undertakings; and, what is yet of more conſequence, the appearance of the peaſants, &c. and the eaſy manner, in which they live, and through moſt of the provinces on the other ſide the gulf of Bothnia, is a ſtrong preſumption, that there is no great degree of oppreſſion among them. Therefore, the bad ſtate of affairs in the eaſtern provinces, muſt be owing, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, to ſome local cauſes, that have not a general effect. In this I was the more confirmed, from mentioning the very bad appearance, the emigration of the peaſants in the

provinces adjoining the Ruſſians, made, which looked like a very tyrannical government; that, he ſaid, was not ſo ſtrong an inſtance, as it might ſeem; for he believed, they did not ſo much fly from oppreſſion or want at home, as to temptation abroad; for the Ruſſians had emiſſaries conſtantly among them, promiſing mountains of rewards to all thoſe, that would ſettle in Ruſſia: and as they fully performed every thing to many of the firſt emigrants, it induced numbers to follow their example; and I muſt allow, that the encouragement given by the Ruſſians was ſo much greater, than it was poſſible, they ſhould well receive in their own country, without having every thing in it reverſed; that they were really bribed away, in hopes, that the fame of their treatment would occaſion a continual increaſe in their numbers, which has certainly taken place; though the emigrants, I am informed, do not receive the ſame encouragement, as formerly. Therefore, in this inſtance, the depopulation of our provinces is not to be attributed to any active evil at home, but to the artful ſuggeſtions of a very cunning neighbour. I replied, that it was very bad politics in the government to allow of ſuch emigrations; that they ſhould have ſtopped them by force, if a ſimple law would not have had

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the effect. He agreed in this, but ſaid, that if the emigrating peaſants lived not upon the eſtates of the nobility, they cared very little about their ſtaying in Sweden, or going to Ruſſia: the worthy clergyman further obſerved, that there was not, in theſe frontier provinces, one paſtor to ten flocks; ſo that the people had never an opportunity of being informed, in any reſpect, of what they owed to their native country.

My friend the Captain, who had made the entertainment, obſerved, that all this was very true; but that the origin of their evils was ſuffering the Muſcovites to conquer the provinces around the gulf of Finland; for that brought them a neighbour, that could not but prove deſtructive in every reſpect. When that nation was ſhut out from the Baltic, Sweden poſſeſſed moſt of the export trade, which ſhe now enjoys on that ſea; and he juſtly obſerved, that this was owing altogether to the miſchiefs brought on his country, by that madman Charles XII. This was a propoſition, that nobody could contradict; for the truth of it was evident: but I remarked, that Sweden had enough left to carry her to a much higher pitch of wealth and proſperity, than ſhe at preſent enjoyed; her buſineſs therefore was not to regret, what could not be recalled, but to do

whatever her preſent ſituation demanded, to make amends for paſt failures. They all ſeemed, much more to wiſh, than to expect this.

The next morning, I ſet out for Mr. Hirzel's territory, having inſiſted upon providing baggage, horſes, and the neceſſary proviſions for the whole journey, which, I thought, was the leaſt I could do, in return for their civility. Both Mr. Hirzel and Mr. Schornbrun were mounted on little horſes like mine, which they here call North-country horſes. For a few miles from Waſſay, the country is partly cultivated; that is, you here and there ſee a village, with ſome cultivated lands about it; but they are thinly ſcattered: and we preſently got into the wilds, wherein is no appearance of any inhabitants; and this continued through the whole day's journey of forty miles, till we came to a miſerable cottage, which is a kind of ſtragler from a neighbouring village, which is half depopulated. The country is chiefly compoſed of one continued foreſt, the trees of which are of a very fine and beautiful growth. I was curious to take notice of the appearance, which the land carries in the tracks, where it is clear of timber, and found, that it is, in general, covered with a tolerable graſs; and the ſoil is a good rich coloured loam, tending to a clay; but, in ſome parts, ſtoney; evidently much ſuperior to that of many

many places in Sweden, which are moſt profitably cultivated. It was therefore extremely plain, that it was not a fault in the country, which has been the occaſion of its deſolate ſtate.

The few incloſures around the cottage, were a proof alſo of this; for although the peaſant did not ſeem to be one of the moſt induſtrious; yet he had very good crops of barley and oats, and alſo of turneps, and he had a herd of cows, which fed upon the waſte, with a parcel of young cattle, none of which ſeemed in their looks, to complain of their paſture.

I ſet my bed up in the ſame room, in which my fellow-travellers made theirs, of clean ſtraw, upon which they ſeemed to repoſe as well, as on any down; which was not the worſe for an hearty ſupper, we had made on fiſh and ham; and they paid their reſpects pretty moderately to the brandy and the wine, I had brought, which, with a continual ſmoaking, ſeemed to paſs away the evening much to their ſatisfaction. The next morning, we continued our journey, through a wild country, which I ſhould apprehend, muſt have been once tolerably inhabited; for we had a great road all the way, though overgrown with graſs and weeds, but ſaw not the leaſt appearance of any habitation. The timber, in this

region is very fine, and in vaſt quantities, and the ſoil in moſt places, rich and deep: it is impoſſible, but a good government actively exerted, might people ſuch tracks of country, ſo very deſirable, compared with many others, well ſtocked with inhabitants. We rode about thirty miles; and then, alighting, turned our horſes to graze; and, ſpreading our cloth and proviſions on a dry green bank, well ſheltered with wood, by the ſide of a ſtream, we made an hearty meal, and reſted ourſelves about four hours, all of us getting a nap for refreſhment: we then ſet forwards at an eaſy pace; and, travelling through the twilight, we reached the banks of the great lake, on which my friend's plantation is, about two o'clock at noon of the 11th.

The country here is very fine. The lake is a noble one, of a varying breadth, from three to more than twenty miles over; and the length is above an hundred; there are numerous iſlands in it, ſome of them two or three miles broad, and many others leſs. At the northern point of it, is one of theſe iſlands, about two miles from the main land, which is a part of Mr. Hirzel's poſſeſſion. We came down to a few cottages on the ſhore, which he has built, and where a ſloop lies, always in readineſs to carry him over; into this we got, leaving

leaving our horſes in a barn by the cottage, and taking all our baggage with us in the veſſel. In croſſing the water, I was much delighted with the views; the hills, in ſome places, riſe very boldly from the lake, which has a beautiful effect, as the whole country is covered with thick woods. The iſland is four miles long, and three broad, conſiſting of various land, but in general high and dry, and moſt of it a wood: Mr. Hirzel built a ſmall houſe here, of four rooms on a floor, having two tolerable parlours, and the whole neatly furniſhed: in it we found a ſervant and his family, who has the management of a ſmall farm: near it are barns, ſtables, and other offices; and four cottages, which he alſo built, and are inhabited by peaſants; to each of whom he aſſigned a ſmall farm, which he obliges them to cultivate very neatly. It is highly neceſſary, that they ſhould be good farmers; for the ſubſiſtence of themſeves and cattle much depends on it, being at ſuch a diſtance from any other habitation. Mr. Hirzel directs his own manager ſo, as to oblige him always to have good ſtore of all products before hand. He has a cellar well filled, plenty of fiſh and game at command; and his farm yields him all common proviſions, with good fowls: ſo that he is always ſure of find-

ing good eating and drinking: he has a large boat-houſe, under which his ſloop can run; and ſeveral open boats. After dinner, we took a walk about his farm, which ſeemed to be very well managed, and the crops good; at which I do not wonder; for the ſoil of the iſland is a fine black, dry, deep mold, peculiarly adapted, I ſhould ſuppoſe, for all huſbandry applications. As I had expreſſed a deſire of ſailing a little on the lake, for the pleaſure of viewing the woods, Mr. Hirzel manned the ſloop, in the morning of the 12th; and having laid in a ſtock of proviſions and my bed, ſaid, he would make a three days voyage for my entertainment; he ſteered ſouth by the eaſt ſhore, and returned by the weſt: we made many leagues, having a favourable wind, gaining very near the ſouth end of the lake: nothing could be more agreeable; the water beautiful, and the ſurrounding country extremely various. We lived well; for his nets and hooks were excellently managed, and ſupplied us with many ſorts of fine fiſh in great perfection, which we dreſſed and eat with an admirable ſtomach. We caught one carp, that weighed ſixteen pounds, and Mr. Hirzel told me, that he has taken them of a larger ſize; but they are not ſo well taſted, as thoſe of about ſix or ſeven pounds. Here are

alſo

alſo pike, and tench, but not equal to what I have eat elſewhere; eels exceeding good; and a fiſh about the ſize of a trout, and of the ſame ſhape, but much ſuperior flavour, which they call a *ſnout*. I muſt confeſs, that this was one of the moſt agreeable voyages I had ever made. We had about half a day, in which the wind being briſk, the waves ran pretty high, and gave us the exerciſe of beating over them.

The 15th, Mr. Hirzel dedicated to ſhooting, for which ſport we did not go off the iſlands; he had a leaſh of ſpaniels there, that found us plenty of game; theſe were pheaſants and hares, with a few partridges; but none of them equal in taſte to the ſame ſorts in England; we had a very good day's work to range about only a part of the iſland; and having killed game enough for our uſe and amuſement, returned home.

Mr. Hirzel informed me, that he had this iſland, which contains about eight thouſand acres of land, and a track contiguous to the cottages, where we firſt took water, of more than four thouſand more, by being the principal creditor of a man at Abo, who failed; they were valued at the price of the country, and rated to him for ſomething more, than three thouſand pounds; but he had them under five and twenty hundred, which is not four of our

ſhillings

ſhillings an acre for the fee ſimple, including all the fine woods on them. I expreſſed my aſtoniſhment at this; but he replied, that he had loſt conſiderably by the purchaſe; having bought it for a country-ſeat for pleaſure, that when he purchaſed it, it did not yield a ſingle ſhilling; and that the ſums, which he had hitherto laid out, did not much more, than pay the intereſt of them. I anſwered, that ſtill I ſhould conceive, the purchaſe might be made to anſwer extremely well, by improving the lands and converting them into farms: He ſaid, no; he was very fearful, that no money would ariſe, if it was all improved; for markets were at ſuch an immenſe diſtance, that they could pay in nothing but products. But ſaid he, I have hopes of making it anſwer another way. From the very ſouthermoſt point of the lake, there is a conſiderable river, which falls into the gulf of Finland, at the mouth of it, there is a ſmall trading town, which increaſes in ſhipping and commerce every day; upon that river there is a great foreſt, which belongs to a nobleman; and the merchants are employed at preſent in negotiating with him for liberty to cut what timber they pleaſe on his eſtate; if they ſucceed, they deſign to be at the expence of cutting a ſhort canal to eſcape a fall, in order to carry down the timber to their ſhipping;

ſhipping; if that is effected, there will be a navigation opened from this iſland into the gulf of Finland; and I ſhall poſſeſs a market at once for my timber, which will turn to greater account, than any thing elſe that could be done; and after the timber is cleared, I can then apply it to huſbandry-purpoſes, as the ſame market will take off my rents, received in kind of tenants, or raiſed by myſelf, as well as my timber. So that the moment the merchants ſucceed, my plan is to go and ſettle at Pitees, (the name of the town) that I may be on the ſpot, and I ſhall there, from ſuperior advantages, be able to carry on a greater trade, than at Waſſay; beſides the advantage of exporting the products of this eſtate. If I ſhould ever be able to execute theſe plans, my purchaſe here will turn out the luckieſt event of my life; and might ſoon enable me to buy larger tracks of land upon the lake; for moſt of the landlords live at Stockholm, and would know nothing of ſuch a navigation being executed, any more than of one in Iceland: for theſe tracks are all ſo deſart, that very few of them yield any thing to their owners. But by my transferring my buſineſs to Pitees, I ſhould be on the ſpot to make advantage of every event, as it happened;

and

and it would be doubly advantageous to me, as I ſhould be the exporter of my own products.

I aſked him, if he did not apprehend, the merchants would oppoſe any navigation but their own, as his timber would be brought to rival theirs? He replied, they could not; for the river is the boundary of the Ruſſian and Swediſh dominions, and is free by treaty; therefore the moſt, that could be done, would be the eſtabliſhment of a ſmall toll. That Pitees was part Swediſh and part Ruſſian, one part of the town being in Caulia, and the other in Nyland; which was found, in many circumſtances of trade, to be a prodigious advantage, and was one reaſon of the town flouriſhing. I could not comprehend clearly, how he made this out, for he did not explain himſelf. But it appeared evidently to me, that he has a very fair chance of his purchaſe proving a fortune to him; and the plan he has laid for making the beſt of it, ſeems to be perfectly well conſidered.

It is aſtoniſhing to reflect on the vaſt importance of manufactures and commerce on the value of land: here are twelve thouſand acres, moſt of them covered thickly with the fineſt timber, bought for four ſhillings an acre the fee ſimple; the ſoil rich and fertile; materials for building of courſe, from the plenty of wood in the greateſt profuſion; a fine lake

lake, well ſtored with quantities of fiſh, and the woods full of game: In a word, every article of proviſions to be procured in the greateſt plenty. But for want of manufactures and trade, the value is nothing. What would not ſuch a track ſell for in a well-peopled and induſtrious country; in England, Holland, or France? This ſufficiently ſhews the great conſequence of population. I have heard it aſked in England, when the decreaſe of our numbers has been the topic of diſcourſe, of what conſequence is the matter of population? It is plain, we have men enough for our armies and our navies; and our lands are cultivated; I have a thouſand pounds a year, which does not fall to nine hundred, although our population, it is ſaid, has ſuffered. And I muſt confeſs, that when I have heard ſuch diſcourſes, although I, by no means, approv'd their principle, yet did I not clearly ſee the conſequences. This country ſupplies one with an anſwer at once. The rental of a private gentleman's eſtate depends on the ſum total of the nations's population. If there are ſcarcely any inhabitants as in theſe provinces of Sweden, the eſtate will ſell for four ſhillings an acre, timber and all; but if the country is full of inhabitants, like England, it will ſell for twenty pounds, and the timber, perhaps, for two hundred more.

Between

Between ſuch diſtant extremes there will certainly be many degrees, and ſome of them ſo near to each other, that it will be difficult to ſee their diſtinctions; but ſuch are evidently in being, and muſt ever be found in proportion to the number of the people; if agriculture could alone find mouths enough to eat up and conſume all the products, ſhe raiſes, then manufactures and commerce would not, in this light, be neceſſary; but it is every where known, that a territory compleatly cultivated, will provide food, &c. for a greater number of people, than are employed in the cultivation: hence ariſes the deduction, that manufactures and commerce are but other names for full population, which can only be gained by their means.

From this iſland of my friend Mr. Hirzel, I was determined, what route I ſhould take to Peterſburgh: upon conſideration, and after making many enquiries, I reſolved to go through the province of Savolax to the capital of it, the only town of any note in it, which is Nyſlot; and thence to Wyburg, in my way to the Ruſſian capital. The 17th, in the morning, I took my leave of Mr. Hirzel and his friend, and ſet off for Pexama, a little town at the diſtance of ſeventy miles; which is all through the foreſt: it took me two days; but

I met

I met with no houſes; therefore all my refreſhment and reſt was a meal taken on the graſs, and a nap upon the ſame pillow. I have ſeen a Swediſh map, which places ſeven villages in this road; but I had now ſufficient reaſon to pronounce it erroneous: the country is all a rich ſoil, and covered, in moſt places, very thickly with fine timber: A country, which would feed numerous inhabitants; and is all admirably watered; for I was more than once, in ſight of great lakes; but it is in the moſt deſolate condition, and yields not any advantage to its poſſeſſors. From Pexama to Nyſlot is between fifty and ſixty miles; all the way on the banks of a very noble lake, which, from its narrowneſs and winding courſe, has exactly the appearance of a great river. The country is all foreſt; but I ſaw two or three villages; at one of which I took up my lodging: there were ſome ſmall farms, which appeared to be tolerably cultivated; and I found, that this lake, along which I had paſſed, was navigable quite to the gulph of Finland; and that the villages, I ſaw, were owing to this circumſtance; for the timber of the foreſt was conveyed thither to advantage; and the cutting and preparing it found employment for the people.

Nyſlot

Nyſlot is a little neat town, beautifully ſituated in a nook of land, that runs into the lake, with which it is chiefly ſurrounded. The church is a new building and handſome; the ſtreets are ſome of them well paved and tolerably built; and there was an appearance of wealth among the inhabitants, all of which, I found, was owing to the timber trade: for two or three miles round the town the country is well cultivated, and ſhews plainly, what the reſt of it is capable of, did it poſſeſs the ſame advantage of a market.

The 21ſt in the morning, I left Nyſlot, and took the road to Wyburg, which is at the diſtance of 60 miles: the firſt day carried me into Caulia in the Ruſſian territories, where I was forced to hire a freſh ſervant to ſerve me as an interpreter; but unfortunately, I could only get a Ruſſian, that underſtood Swediſh, which language I began to ſpeak a little: ſo I hired him for the preſent uſe, till I got to Peterſburgh.

Upon entering the Ruſſian territories, I was convinced, that the intelligence, I had received at Waſſay, was true; that the Ruſſians tempted the Swedes to ſettle in their provinces, and at the ſame time took all means of increaſing the population of their dominions; for I not only ſaw and converſed with many

Swedes,

Swedes, but the country was, upon the whole, well peopled with Ruſſians, far ſuperior to the Swediſh provinces in their beſt diſtricts, that I have been in. All of it was cultivated, tho' not highly, and every thing carried the appearance of a thriving country, that had nothing to complain of. I arrived at Wyburg the 22d: it is a place of conſiderable trade, which has increaſed greatly of late years, by the encouragements, it has received from the Ruſſians. Vaſt quantities of timber are exported from hence; ſo that the harbour, which is a very good one, is ſeldom, while the ſea is open, without many ſhips in it. The provinces of Caulia and Kexholm furniſh this timber, and great quantities come from Savolax, through a part of Sweden; this timber trade has increaſed prodigiouſly, ſince the Ruſſians cut a fine canal to open a communication with the northern lakes, by which means, trees are brought from the diſtance of four hundred miles in rafts, and for a great part of the way, five men are ſufficient to bring down ten thouſand rafts.

The 23d, I ſet out for Peterſburgh, which is two days journey, the diſtance about ſixty miles. The country, though ſo near the capital of the Ruſſian empire, is not all cultivated, which ſurprized me much; a great

part of it consists of forests, and there are many marshes; but still it is much superior to the Finland provinces of Sweden, better inhabited and better cultivated. But here it is time to take my leave of Sweden; however, I shall add some general observations, I made on the people of that kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

General Reflections on the State of Sweden—Religion—Learning—The fine Arts—Manner of Life—Government—Agriculture—Manufactures—Commerce—Wealth—Population—Travelling.

THE common idea of the Swedes, which I have gathered from conversation and reading, has been that of their being good soldiers, active, brave, and hardy; but that few of them are ingenious, or have abilities to make a figure in other arts or walks in life. This has been owing to the actions, that were performed by Charles XII. which were such proofs of their courage, that the rest of Europe too soon believed, they were capable of being famous in war alone. I profess myself clearly against this idea, which I am confident, is a very false one; they make good

good ſoldiers, it is true, but they are capable of making any thing elſe. I have attended with as much aſſiduity, as I was able, and upon all the opportunities that I have had in my power, which have been many, I think, they ſeem to have as good parts, as any other nation in Europe, and much ſuperior to ſome. They are, by no means, dull of apprehenſion; are ready in their anſwers upon any ſubject, with which they are acquainted; have nothing of phlegm in their character: they are in general as chearful a nation, as I know, not a noiſy buſtling people, that are one moment in grief, and the next laughing: they have not ſo much vivacity as the French, but I think, they have, upon the whole, as much as the Engliſh. They are, in general, a very patient and an induſtrious people, and capable, with proper encouragement from the government, of making a great progreſs in the arts and ſciences, and in manufactures and commerce; all which are very valuable qualities, when they meet in a nation of ſuch acknowledged bravery.

Reſpecting religion, they are guided in a great meaſure by plain good ſenſe; though a free country, they are not peſtered with noiſy ſects; neither are they at all violent in the conduct of the eſtabliſhed faith; and, altho'

a great part of the kingdom is very ignorant, yet I ſaw fewer ſigns of ſuperſtition, than in any country I have been in, Holland and England alone excepted.

Among the better ſort of people, and the higher ranks, there is a great deal of learning: a good education in Sweden fits a man to ſhine in any country in Europe: in their ſchools, they learn Greek, Latin, French, Engliſh, and German; ſo that there are very few inſtance of a young man's underſtanding the dead languages, and not at the ſame time being maſter of two or three very uſeful living ones, which is much more, than can be ſaid of our youth in England.

They have ſeveral univerſities, which are provided with very able profeſſors; in theſe ſeminaries, the favourite knowledge is natural hiſtory and the mathematicks; and herein they ſhew their good ſenſe as much, as any nation in Europe; for there are no other parts of knowledge, that deſerve ſo much attention, the reſt being for ornament alone; but theſe are uſeful in every branch of life. Many of their mathematicians are in general eſteem, as they are very rarely without ſeveral, whoſe works are known to all Europe. In natural hiſtory, they are unrivalled; but they do not owe their fame in this branch merely

merely to Linnæus, for before he was born, this ſtudy was the favourite one in their univerſities, and they have produced many men, that gained them great reputation for their works, but they have ſince been eclipſed by Linnæus, and his numerous diſciples.

I have been in many mixed companies in Sweden, and I do not remember converſing with any gentleman, that had not a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge, and plainly ſhewed on moſt topics, that he had had the advantage of an excellent education.

They are moſt deficient in the polite arts; you look in vain for a painter, a poet, a ſtatuary, or a muſician. If the Abbé du Bos's ſyſtem is a juſt one, this is the fault alone of their climate; but without attributing it to phyſical cauſes, we may find a reaſon in the moral ones. The fine arts never make a great progreſs in any country, till it becomes immenſely rich, and very luxurious: the arts are the children of luxury; without a great flow of expence, running through every claſs of the people, we may pronounce, that a nation is not rich enough for the fine arts to ſettle among them: the artiſts, that excel, muſt always be ſure of ſomething more, than a competency, they muſt have affluence; they are generally men of warm imaginations, and

lovers of pleaſure. They muſt indulge their inclinations, and not be crampt in poverty, while they are attempting to produce works, that ſhall be the admiration of ſucceeding ages. Hence, all the famous ages, in which the arts have ariſen to a great degree of eminence, from many very famous men being cotemporaries, have univerſally been the richeſt and moſt luxurious ages in the world: not that wealth alone is ſufficient without luxury. The Dutch are very wealthy, but they are not a luxurious nation; artiſts would ſtarve there in the midſt of riches. Both luxury and wealth abound in the kingdoms of Aſia, but then a deſpotiſm, exceſſively ſevere, deſtroys every nobler effort of the mind.

The Swedes have no poets: ſome attempt that ſort of compoſition, but it is always in Latin, and conſequently of no merit: their painters never riſe higher, than very bad portrait ones: the ſame faſhion obtaining in Sweden as in England, where, till very lately, we had nothing but portrait painters, becauſe no others met with any encouragement. You hear very good muſic at Stockholm, but it is all by German muſicians. This is not therefore a kingdom, to which any perſon would reſort to be entertained by the fine arts.

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They have a theatre at Stockholm, on which, during a part of the year, French comedies are repreſented, ſometimes concerts, and oratorios, but the times of acting are very irregular, not meeting always with encouragement enough to keep it open, even in the winter; ſo that it has been known to be ſhut up for two years together. Another thing, which takes much from the gaiety of this capital, is, the court not being at all brilliant; which is owing, in ſome meaſure, to the ſmallneſs of the royal revenue, and to the preſent ſtate of parties, which occaſions many of the principal nobility to abſent themſelves.

The manners of all ranks of people in Sweden are very agreeable; the ſuperior claſſes have an eaſy natural politeneſs, which prejudices you in their favour at firſt acquaintance. They have not a ſwift, or formal, nor pert or foppiſh, but a plain eaſy carriage and manner, which is the reſult of good ſenſe and humanity. Their converſation is agreeable; and they pay great attention of foreigners, without troubling them with national cuſtoms and ceremonies. Duels are not common at Stockholm; yet the men have very juſt ideas of their honour, and as unwilling to put up with affronts, as more tenacious and quarrelſome nations.

The principal expences, into which they run, are thoſe of the table, dreſs, and equipage. People of large fortune keep prodigious tables, which are ſerved with all the magnificence, that is found in France and England, and the variety of their wines have no end. In dreſs, alſo, they appear prodigal; and their equipages, from their number, are expenſive, but not executed in the ſhewy taſte of Paris. However, theſe articles of luxury, in their greateſt degree, are confined to a few families, whoſe wealth is very conſiderable; for, in general, the nobility are not rich: there are many private eſtates in Germany, that much exceed any in Sweden.

The way of dividing the reſidence of winter and ſummer, as practiſed in England, takes place here, only in part; many of the nobility and richeſt of the gentry, live entirely at Stockholm, ſcarcely ever ſeeing their eſtates; others live entirely in the country, never ſeeing the capital, at leaſt, but very ſeldom: ſome, however, have houſes at Stockholm for the winter ſeaſon, but live in ſummer on their eſtates, having very good houſes, which they ornament with gardens and plantations.

As to the preſent ſtate of the government of Sweden, I could enter in a pretty long detail of ſome changes and other circumſtances,

ces, that have attended it lately, but as great part of my information is drawn from people, that are deeply concerned, I do not chuſe to ſay much upon the ſubject. But I ſhall obſerve, that the government is a plain republick, the king, being no more than the firſt magiſtrate, with very little power, not ſo much as a ſtadtholder of Holland in ſeveral eſſential articles. There are convulſions in the adminiſtration of affairs, which threaten a total change; for here is an apparent contradiction, which is, a king and the people on one ſide, and the nobility on the other; moſt of the important authority is in the hands of the latter, who are in fact the legiſlature of the kingdom; but diſputes, parties and diſſentions are grown to an amazing height, and bid fair for coming to open arms; at all events, ſome great revolution may be looked for; and the event may eaſily be conjectured, while the people, united under a leader of the firſt rank in the kingdom with ſome prerogative, are on one hand, and the nobility on the other; a diſpute, in ſuch a ſituation, cannot fail of being fatal to the latter. Indeed, I never knew affairs in any country in a ſituation, that promiſed ſo fairly, for bringing in an abſolute ſway, in the ſame manner, as it was introduced in Denmark; many moderate men in Sweden lament

lament the diſſentions, which do ſo much miſchief to the kingdom, and aſſert, that if they had a deſigning prince on the throne, it would be very eaſy for him to ſeize as great a power, as ever Charles XII. enjoyed.

At the ſame time, that they are of this opinion, they make no ſcruple to declare, the change would be for the advantage of the kingdom, and that no government, regular in its operations, can be ſo bad, as the preſent irregular ſcene of anarchy and faction. But herein, they certainly carry their ideas to a very dangerous length, notwithſtanding many and great errors of government, and ſome oppreſſions among the peaſants; yet I am clear, that the countrymen, throughout the kingdom, enjoy a great degree of liberty, and are left in quiet poſſeſſion of their property; their taxes are, in ſome inſtances, very unequal; they are kept at much diſtance by the nobility, and have none of that licentiouſneſs allowed them, which is ſuch a diſgrace to England: But, notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, I will venture to pronounce them, beyond all compariſon, a happier people in every reſpect, than they would be, were their government abſolute. Let thoſe, who have travelled through France and Sweden, form an idea of the ſtate of the peaſants in both, and they will

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not for a moment hesitate at agreeing to this truth.

By lodging with the peasants in so many journeys, through the remote provinces of the kingdom, I had the opportunity of examining very minutely into their condition, and I remarked them, in general, to be a very contented happy people; there are few cottages in Sweden, that have not lands annexed to them, by which means they raise many products, which are of infinite use to them in keeping themselves and families. England, it will certainly be allowed, is as free a country, as any man can wish; and yet our labourers have very seldom more, than a small spot for a garden, which is too inconsiderable to be of much service to them; nor are the English near so well satisfied with their lot, as the Swedish peasants; they are not so tightly dressed, their cottages are not near so good, and their poverty in general, is much more apparent; all which I attribute to the circumstance of the Swedes, having those small farms with herds of cattle on the waste, which are of infinitely more value to them, than all the amount of those taxes, which they pay, and from which their brethren in England are not only exempted, but have also the advantage of rates, publicly raised for their assist-

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ance; of which there is nothing of the kind in Sweden: I know not three peaſants in that kingdom, that have not a farm of twenty or thirty acres of land at leaſt, and ſeveral herd of cattle. Here indeed, I ſhould give an explanation, for if this was the caſe in England, we ſhould have no ſuch thing as a labourer to be hired; all would attend merely to their lands; but in Sweden there is no inconvenience in this, for the peaſants, who work regularly in the woods for hire, have the ſame; but their wives and daughters manage their farms, ſo that the men are not taken from their uſual labour, three days out of forty. This is a moſt admirable cuſtom for themſelves, as well as the kingdom, and makes the population of a kingdom, wherever it is practiſed, of far more account, than at firſt it appears. It would be in vain to attempt introducing this cuſtom into England, for the great degree of idleneſs, in which the cottage-woman live with us, would be an unſurmountable obſtacle.

Notwithſtanding I have, in different parts of my journal, minuted the remarks, I made on the preſent ſtate of agriculture in the provinces, I paſſed through; I muſt here repeat, that the Swedes are univerſally good huſbandmen; I ſaw no lands, laid out and cultivated,

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in ſuch good order, in any part of Germany, and the Danes are alſo far behind them; the peaſants and farmers in Sweden, who cultivate only for a ſubſiſtance, keep their lands in good order, and raiſe ſuch crops, that their fields would be no diſgrace to a middling cultivated part of England; while their farmers as have good markets in view, would figure in the fineſt counties of this kingdom. Their crops of corn I obſerved, were in general good and clean, that they keep large ſtocks of cattle, and provide plenty of food for them to ſubſiſt on in winter. If it is conſidered, what a vaſt quantity of waſte land is found throughout the kingdom, moſt of which, almoſt any body, that will, may take under the payment of a very trifling rent; this good huſbandry will appear the more extraordinary, as their having ſo much land in their power, it might be expected, would make them ſlovens, yet the contrary is the caſe, for they take no more, than they can manage well, and by that means, I apprehend, find their huſbandry more profitable, than it would otherwiſe be.

The reader may have remaked, that I have almoſt every where mentioned, wheat being cultivated by them; this, I think, is a very extraordinary inſtance of docility and good ſenſe;

ſenſe; a few years ago, that grain was cultivated only in a few of the ſouthern provinces, and on ſoils, picked up with much care for it; but when the prohibition on the exportation from Engliſh put the Swediſh government ſtrongly on promoting the culture at home, the farmers, throughout the kingdom, readily came into the plan, and ſowed ſo much, every year, increaſing the quantity regularly, from that time to this, that, at preſent, it is ſpread all over the kingdom; ſuch an inſtance, I dare to ſay, is not, in any article of culture, to be met with in England; and from this inſtance, it is very evident, that the common ideas of difficulties, in the introduction of novelties, are many of them very falſe; for if any perſon had ventured to propoſe the culture of wheat in Sweden, fifty years ago, at leaſt, in many of the provinces, where we now find it, he would have been thought mad; but none of theſe things can be well known, till a full and ſufficient trial is made of them. The Swedes are now ſo well informed, by experience, in the culture of wheat, that ſome judicious and ſpirited laws would, I doubt not, enable them to raiſe quantities enough, for a conſiderable exportation, ſo as to enable them to come in with the Poles for a ſhare of a ſupply for the Dutch, and the more

more ſouthern nations of Europe: ſome bounties, properly applied, would effect this: not bounties, as in England, on the exportation, but to all thoſe farmers, who cultivated, given quantities of wheat, in a ſecond round of years, on lands, taken from the waſte; for the great object is, the encreaſing the quantity of cultivated land, by improving the wild tracks, and, at the ſame time, applying them to raiſing a valuable ſort of corn, that is ſure to pay well for exportation. By making the grand object, the raiſing the corn, inſtead of the exportation of it, the home conſumption would always have the refuſal at the market, which is not always the caſe in England. Laws ſhould likewiſe be made to enable any peaſant, farmer, or other, to take in as much of the waſte, which joins his farm, as he pleaſes, without paying any rent for twenty years, and afterwards, only a moderate one for the life of the improver: this would be a wonderful encouragement to all the inhabitants of the country, and would certainly, in a few years, bring great quantities of wheat to market, till the home conſumption not taking the whole, a regular and profitable exportation, would, of courſe, be eſtabliſhed. For bringing about ſuch great works as theſe, nothing is wanted, but to bring affairs into

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ſuch a train, that private people, by puſhing their own intereſts, muſt, at the ſame time, advance thoſe of their country; for if ever there is a diſtinction made, nothing can ariſe from it, but evil upon evil. Encouragement ſhould alſo be given to the draining bogs and marſhes, which in Sweden, are univerſally the richeſt tracks to be met with, but this is a work beyond the power of moſt cultivators, without the aſſiſtance of the government; nothing would effect it, but a premium of ſo much per acre, large enough to go far towards the whole expence; and if ſuch premiums of whatever kind, amounted to a conſiderable expence, it ſhould be raiſed by freſh taxes, or an increaſe of the old ones, over the whole kingdom; for the benefit, purchaſed, would be of importance to the whole, and therefore the whole ought to contribute.

Nothing wants a wiſe regulation more, than the woods in this kingdom; for the waſte, that is made in cutting them, both of timber and land, is extravagantly great. The attention, which M. de Verſpot has given to this article, ſhews what ſhould be done, and the manner alſo, in which the undertaking ſhould be proſecuted. No profitable woods ought to be deſtroyed, unleſs the land is converted immediately to huſbandry uſes. That noble-

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man's excellent method of thinning his woods is certainly the rational conduct, and ought to be inforced over the whole kingdom.

There is no country, in which inland navigations would be attended with better conſequences; for all their products are very bulky, and muſt have water-carriage, or they cannot be got to market. Many of the rivers of Sweden are navigable; but there are many tracks, covered with the fineſt woods, which yield ſcarcely any product, for want of water-carriage, at the ſame time, that conſiderable rivers run through them, which might, at a very ſmall expence, be made navigable, only by removing local obſtructions, and not by a general deepening or widening.

Few countries are better ſupplied with harbours, many of which are extremely ſpacious and ſafe; and the number is ſo conſiderable, that their trade will never ſtand ſtill for want of them, in any part of the kingdom.

Relative to the Swediſh manufactures, I ſhall, in general, remark, that from what I viewed myſelf, and had intelligence of from others, they are not conſiderable. Some of the nobility ſay, that they have carried their point, in making the Swedes cloath themſelves

ſelves with cloth and linen of their own fabrick; but this is a very great exaggeration. The peaſants are univerſally cloathed with a coarſe woollen cloth, that is made at home, and ſome other of the lower ranks of the people. There are alſo ſome gentlemen and nobles, who, thro' patriotiſm, wear Swediſh cloth, that is pretty fine, but that is, by no means, general, and the cloth is much dearer, than much finer ſorts from England and France. Theſe manufactories, which they have been able to erect, are not ſo conſiderable, as this account may ſeem at firſt to indicate; for it ſhould be remembered, that the peaſants were always, nine parts in ten, cloathed in the ſame array as now, which is not with manufactory cloth, but with that, which is ſpun, and wove in their own houſes by their women; ſo that the new eſtabliſhments are not very conſiderable; it is true, they increaſe, and, if good attention is given to encourage and protect them, they will, in ſome years, grow to be of very great conſequence to Sweden, and not only entirely ſupply their own conſumption with all, except the fine French cloths, but alſo furniſh coarſe ones enough for exportation, in exchange for the finer ſorts; and this will be puſhing the advantage, as far as ever they can look

look for; but in the preſent ſtate of things, they are far diſtant from this point, and, unleſs the animoſities, which diſtract the government, are ſo entirely laid aſide, as to make all parties join in one work, and attend to that alone, viz. the good of the kingdom, there is no hope of their attaining to that deſirable ſtate.

They have ſome linen fabricks, in which are wrought very good ſorts, both of hemp and flax; but they are not near conſiderable enough to ſupply their home conſumption. Of glaſs and paper they import very little. Hardware is a conſiderable article among them, not in the ſtile of our Birmingham manufactures, but principally in the foundery way: they caſt great numbers of cannon, which they export to all Europe; alſo bells in great number, and many other articles. Indeed, they are unrivalled in their iron and copper mines, which are far more conſiderable, than thoſe of any other country in Europe; ſo that they apply copper to moſt of the purpoſes, that we do lead in England, ſuch as coverings to their churches, public buildings, and great private edifices, &c.

Commerce flouriſhes more in Sweden, than it did ſome years ago: to what this is owing, I could not diſcover; for their products are not greater, in proportion, to the increaſe of

their shipping; and though several very judicious laws have been made for its encouragement, yet I should not have supposed, the effect would have been answerable, to what appears, unless other reasons had conspired at the same time. However, the fact is, that their shipping is much increased, their ships they build of a greater burthen, and they engage in more trading voyages, than formerly. This is a point of very great importance; for, if they are able to export the principal part of their iron, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and copper, in their own bottoms, it will add more, than any thing else, to the wealth of the kingdom; at the same time, that their naval force will be increased greatly, which is the best and most useful force, they can cherish. Increasing their shipping is improving and accelerating the markets for all their products, and cannot but increase them in a very high degree. The building and fitting out the ships is the most advantageous manufacture in the kingdom, and that, which more than any other, brings wealth into the country. The branches of commerce, which they have more particularly increased of late years, are the East-India trade, the trade to Portugal, Spain, and the Mediterranean; that of England, Holland, and France, is not improved. Some persons are in doubt about

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the German branch of their commerce, but, I believe, that is rather greater, than it was.

The general effects, which flow from an improving agriculture and increasing manufactures and commerce, are a greater degree of national wealth, more of the precious metals, and an increasing population. From the best intelligence I could get, the kingdom, I believe, is more wealthy, than it was twenty years ago. It contains more money, and is upon the increase in that article; but as to population, it has made no progress, and many persons affirm, that there is a decline in it. How far this is consistent with the improvement in the other particulars, I shall not determine; but I may remark, that in general those circumstances are attended by an increasing people. What causes should have wrought contrary effects in Sweden, I am not able to ascertain; but, as the people are often numbered, (though not accurately, nor all the classes) the fact is pretty well confirmed. It should make one doubt the extent of those improvements; for I must own, I have little idea of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce improving, without population, increasing exactly in the same proportion; for an increasing people can only be owing to the inhabitants, finding an ease in maintaining themselves, and their families no

burthen, which is effected by a great plenty of employment; and improving agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, is increasing employment, and consequently the people.

Travelling in Sweden, unless upon the system, which I followed, is a very uneasy affair; in the moment, you get out of the few great roads there are, which do not lead through a fifth of the kingdom, you will meet with difficulties; but in the great roads, if you have your own carriage, the post-horses, boys, and accommodations, have nothing objectible in them, and you are sure of meeting with great civility in all the inns, and from every person, with whom you have the least connection on the road. But, when you leave these great roads, then the stage, in distance from inn to inn, is very great, and the accommodation, though with much civility, very indifferent. If your bed is carried with you, and you can ride the whole journey, every peasant's house is open to you with the utmost hospitality; and they will, for very trifling rewards, do whatever is in their power to serve you. Without precautions, the diet will be very indifferent; but they will get you fish, wild fowl, and venison, excellent of the kind, with which you may load a horse from place to place, while it keeps. And this will remedy every inconvenience. Wine is easily carried.

Travels

Travels through Ruſſia.

CHAP. IV.

Deſcription of Peterſburg—General Accounts of the Empire of Ruſſia—The Empreſs—Government—Manufactures—Trade—Army—Navy—Preſent State.

I Arrived at Peterſburgh, the evening of the 24th, and, as I deſigned making ſome ſtay in the city, determined to hire private lodgings; for I had been informed, that the public inns were not only very extravagant, but alſo very bad, which, indeed, is the caſe in all capitals, for, where the people of quality do not go, (having houſes of their own) one is always ſure of meeting with very indifferent treatment. I hired a firſt floor, conſiſting, after the Ruſſian faſhion, of two dining-rooms, a drawing-room, dreſſing-room, and bed-chamber, beſides ſervants' apartments, for three guineas a week; ſuch a ſuit of rooms at London, it would be very difficult to have at twelve. Peterſburg is built on ſeveral iſlands, which were once nothing more, than marſhy ſpots of mud, over-run with reeds: but the immortal Peter, whoſe undertakings, in every thing, carried a magnificence of idea in them, that can never be ſufficiently admired, converted a miſerable bog into a fine city.

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And here, I cannot avoid anſwering the reflections of ſeveral writers againſt that immortal monarch, for ſacrificing more than half a million of men in founding this city. The Czar's object was to become an European power, which, without a port on the Baltic, he could not, but he might as well have pretended to be an American one. His vaſt dominions, though contiguous to Poland, and themſelves a part of Europe, were, at ſuch a diſtance from the European theatre, and in ſo barbarous a ſtate, that nothing, but opening himſelf a way to the Baltic, could poſſibly bring his grand plan to bear. By founding this city, and making it the capital of his empire, and a ſea-port, fit to receive the naval force, he deſtined to act on that ſea, he anſwered all his purpoſes at one ſtroke; and, conſequently, could ſcarcely pay too dearly for the propoſed advantage. As to the loſs of ſuch numbers of lives, the fault certainly was not ſo much owing to the ſteadineſs of the Czar's adhering to his plan, as not taking proper care of the men, while they were at the work; ſince every one muſt be very ſenſible, that works, to the full as great, as any he executed, could now be performed in England, under ſimilar circumſtances, comparatively ſpeaking, without the loſs of a man. But the conſequences, which,

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we all know, have flowed from the founding this city, have been of such infinite importance to the Russian empire, that no expence, that could ever have been incurred, would have been too great for gaining such signal benefits. Peterſburg is the ſoul of commerce in all theſe Northern parts; it is the foundation, on which all the Ruſſian naval force has been erected; and the port, on which their nurſery of ſailors moſt depends. At the ſame time, that theſe capital circumſtances attend it, muſt be acknowledged, that it is very deficient, as a receptacle of the men of war of a great empire; for the depth of water, the freſhneſs of it, the docks, yards, every thing at Peterſburg, are againſt the uſe of it for that purpoſe. The yards are at Peterſburg, but the depth of water is ſo inconſiderable, that nothing can be put aboard the firſt-rate men of war, before they are conveyed to Cronſlot, which is not eaſily done neither. Once, this work was effected by means of moſt expenſive machines, but now, they come without that difficulty, by means of the new canal, which is not however ſo complete, but that infinite attention is neceſſary for conducting them. It is not only men of war, however, that are built in theſe yards: galleys * are much

* Count Algarotti, mentioning the naval power of the Ruſſians,

much in uſe for the Baltick; but, as this empire has experienced of late great changes, in the

Ruſſians, obſerves, "Galleys are here the proper things. Be there never ſo little water, there is always enough for them. They glide between the little iſlands and the rocks; they can land any where. The Czar was ſenſible of it at laſt, and ſent for galley-builders from Venice. I met with one of them greatly advanced in years, and was not a little ſurpriſed to hear terminations in *ao* in ſixty degrees of latitude. The galleys, that one ſees here, are of different ſizes; there are ſmall ones, which carry about one hundred and thirty men, and others much larger. They are all armed with two pieces of cannon on the prow, and furniſhed with chace-guns and ſwivels on the ſides. The Czar gave to each of them the name of a Ruſſian fiſh. Now they are numbered, as the legions were; there are upwards of one hundred and thirty of them, and they are to be much more numerous. By this means, an army of thirty thouſand men is tranſported with great eaſe. Rowing is to the Ruſſian ſoldiers, what the exerciſe of ſwimming was to the Romans. Every foot-ſoldier learns to handle the oar at the ſame time as the muſket, by which means, without maritime commerce, and without embargoes, the Ruſſians have always crews ready for their galleys. They caſt anchor every night, and land, where it is leaſt expected. When diſembarked, they draw them up upon the land, range them in a circle, with their prows and artillery pointed outward, and thus they have in a trice a fortified camp. They leave five or ſix battallions to guard it, and with the reſt of their troops over-run the country, and lay it under contribution. The expedition ended, they re-embark, and begin again in another quarter. Sometimes they tranſport their veſſels from one water to another over a ſlip of land, as was practiſed by the antients, on ſeveral occaſions, and particularly

the ſyſtem of politics, the uſe of galleys vary. In a war, on the coaſt of the Baltic, they are increaſed in number; but, when a peace comes, they are neglected, and not kept up, in the manner they ought to be. During the late war, they might have annoyed the Pruſſian dominions, infinitely more than they did; but the great army was the only thing attended to.

Peterſburg is amazingly increaſed in ſize within theſe forty years: At the death of Peter the Great, it did not contain eighty thouſand

cularly after the example of Mahomet II. at the ſeige of Conſtantinople.

"The Swedes can teſtify, whether theſe Ruſſian galleys are formidable. They have ſeen them ravage their rich mines of Norkopping, the whole coaſts of Gothland and Sudermania, and ſhew themſelves, even before Stockholm."——He alſo adds another circumſtance, which is worthy of note, concerning the timber uſed for ſhip-building here.——"Of what wood do you think the ſhips are built at Peterſburg? It is a ſpecies of oak, which is at leaſt two ſummers upon the road, before it arrives. It comes ready cut by the carpenter from the kingdom of Caſan. It goes a little way up the Wolga, then the Tuertza, paſſes through a canal into the ſea, from thence into the Meſta, and, by means of the Volcova, falls into a canal, which conveys it into the lake Ladoga, from thence it deſcends at laſt by the Neva to Peterſburg. I ſaw in this port a ſloop, built at Caſan, from whence it came by the rivers, I have juſt mentioned, which join the Caſpian ſea to the Baltick, and are a quite different thing from the famous canal of Languedoc."

thouſand inhabitants, and now the Ruſſians aſſert, that there are five hundred thouſand; but this is an exaggeration. It covers a very great extent of land and water; the ſtreets are ſome of them very broad, long, and with canals in the middle of them; and others are planted in the Dutch faſhion; which, I before obſerved, is a wretched plan; the houſes are immenſely large: the palaces of the nobility, I think, exceed in ſize thoſe of any city, I have ſeen; and that of the Empreſs is an amazing ſtructure: but let me remark, that they are rather great, than beautiful: the ſize is all, that ſtrikes you: and theſe prodigious piles are ſtuck ſo thick with ornaments, that there is hardly any ſuch thing, as judging of their proportions: the Italian architecture is mixed with the Dutch, and the whole forms very inelegant buildings, in which true taſte is totally ſacrificed to a profuſion of ornament. But if the eye does not ſcrutinize into the ſeparate parts of the buildings, but takes only the ſtreets at large, the city may be fairly pronounced a very fine one.

The Czar himſelf ſpared no pains in rendering it as ſtrong as poſſible; for being at the very extremity of his dominions, cloſe to his enemies the Swedes, and open to the attacks, which were poſſible to ariſe from his European connections,

connections, he made a point of having it impregnable; but herein he certainly failed. There are many forts, and whole shores converted into platforms, and lined from end to end with great guns. These works begin at Cronslot, which is made very strong, and they last to the city. There is a citadel, regularly built, and capable, not only of protecting the city on one side, but also of itself standing a siege. Yet there are many seamen, who assert, that a fleet of ships well manned and conducted, and provided with a proper number of fireships, and bomb-ketches, would, without any great difficulty, lay all Petersburg in ashes. I must own myself of a very different opinion, for here is always a very considerable fleet of men of war, from 60 to 100 guns, with numerous sailors, that could man them on a very short notice; these ships, properly disposed by way of batteries, would render such an attempt impracticable, even if the fortifications are granted to be deficient, which is more, than will be allowed by many officers, well skilled in this part of their art.

Among the public buildings, there are many, extremely worthy the attention of a traveller, particularly the dock yards and naval magazines, the arsenal, foundery, admiralty, &c. without insisting on the imperial palace, the

the cathedral, or many churches. In the docks, they have a great number of carpenters continually at work, among whom are many Engliſh, diſcharged by the government, on the concluſion of the peace in 1763, they meet with great encouragement here, and are much better employed, than if in the ſervice of France or Spain. They build here all ſorts of veſſels, from ſhips of one hundred and twenty guns, (and ſome, much larger have been known) down to boats, and the number, always on the ſtocks at a time, is conſiderable. After the death of Peter the Great, the marine was neglected, inſomuch, that the Empreſs's naval ſtrength was not computed to be a fifth part of what, that great monarch poſſeſſed, and this was owing to a want of trade, which can alone make ſeamen; unleſs, when in the hands of ſuch a man as Peter, who created every thing: But the preſent Empreſs, who has thrown the ſpirit of that great monarch into all the departments of the ſtate, has re-vived it wonderfully, ſo that at preſent the Ruſſians have a formidable navy, and, in a few years, will have a yet more conſiderable one.

There is ſcarcely any thing at Peterſburg, more deſerving notice, than the foundery: The iron is brought from Kexholm by water, and

and the number of cannon and mortars, that are caſt here, is very great; alſo cannon balls, ſhells, and all ſorts of military implements, in which iron is uſed; which are made here at as ſmall an expence, as in Sweden, or any other part of the world. The arſenal is always well ſtored with them; and there are vaſt quantities, made on a private account for exportation, forming a very conſiderable branch of commerce.

The trade of Peterſburg is much more conſiderable, than that of any other town in the Ruſſian empire; and would figure, on compariſon, with many very great marts in other parts of Europe; but unfortunately, that vaſt commerce is, nine-tenths of it, carried on in foreign bottoms. The Dutch alone load annually here with timber, iron, and all ſorts of naval ſtores, a great many ſhips, and the Engliſh many more.

The commodities, theſe nations carry from Peterſburg, are tar, bees wax, pitch, hemp, flax, leather, ſkins, furs, pot-aſhes, timber, plank, iron, yarn, linen, lintſeed, &c. and theſe in ſuch quantities, that the very balance of trade, between Great-Britain and Ruſſia, has been reckoned at four hundred thouſand pounds a year, againſt the former; the amount of the total commerce may therefore be eaſily conceived. The royal navy of Eng-

land is almoſt totally ſupplied with hemp from Peterſburg, alſo with great quantities of iron, and other naval ſtores, and all the ſhipping in England likewiſe; and this importation has increaſed very much, ſince the Swedes laid a prohibition on our manufactures, ſo that the importation, from that country, was reduced to the few articles, which neceſſity obliged us to have from thence; and all the reſt very politically tranferred to Ruſſia.

The great amount of the commerce, between us and this empire, has been the occaſion of very many political diſſertations and treatiſes, proving the neceſſity of encouraging the production of all the commodities, we import from Ruſſia, in our colonies; and I think, our politicians have not, in any inſtance, had better grounds for their opinions, or ſupported their propoſitions with more unanſwerable arguments. A trading nation ſhould never regret parting with its money, when ſhe thereby adds to her induſtry; but, in this caſe, we pay three or four hundred thouſand pounds a year to Ruſſia for thoſe commodities, which our own colonies would produce; and the difference is, that now we pay in caſh, but to our colonies, we ſhould pay in manufactures: conſequently, for want of this meaſure, being effected, we loſe the em-

ployment

ployment of so many of our poor, as could earn the whole amount of that sum; and we also lose the general profit, resulting to the nation at large, by their earning such a sum of money; for any increase of our national income, raised by an increase of industry, is beneficial to us, in a much greater degree, than the mere amount of it. To illustrate this, let us consider the advantage to Russia, of our paying her a balance of three or four hundred thousand pounds. That balance is paid to a certain number of merchants and dealers at Petersburg and other ports; they pay it to a set of landlords, miners, husbandmen, and manufacturers. These again pay it to all the manufacturers, tradesmen, &c. with whom they deal; and these to a fresh set. Now every art, trade, business, and profession, in the whole empire, come in for an additional income, from this sum, circulating through the mass of industry; and every one of them are essentially the richer. If this circulation could be traced, it would probably be found, that three hundred thousand pounds a year, gained in the precious metal, were equal, in general by improvement, to the value of nine or twelve hundred thousand pounds a year. Because, no one can be supposed to have an increase of income in Russia,

any more than any where elſe, without increaſing his expences proportionably; that is, he buys more food, more cloth, more ſhoes, employs more builders, and, in a word, more artiſts of all ſorts. None of which can increaſe, without reciprocal benefits, flowing back again; and the government, from the whole circulation in every ſtep it takes, ſeizes a part, by means of taxes. This is but a ſlight ſketch of the effects of an increaſing wealth; to explain it fully, would take a much greater compaſs.

The greateſt trade at Peterſburg is carried on by the Engliſh; next in rank, come the Dutch; as to the French, they deal here, as little as poſſible; for the two crowns are very far from being on a good footing; the French and the Swedes being in cloſe alliance, they therefore trade to Sweden for all thoſe commodities, which England gets from Ruſſia, ſome few excepted, which are not to be had at that market. Notwithſtanding this, they conſume large quantities of French commodities in Ruſſia, but theſe come to them, principally through the hands of the Dutch.

The building this capital has had a very great effect in improving large tracks of land in the ſurrounding provinces: The corn and other proviſions, which are brought hither,

ther, and the variety of merchandize, that is exported from hence, employ ſome of the moſt conſiderable inland navigations in the world. The Neva, the great lakes of Lagoda and Onega; the Tuerka, the Meſta, the Volcova, and the Wolga, all theſe rivers, with many others, tho' ſome of them are at a great diſtance, keep open a communication between Peterſburg and thoſe noble tracks of country upon the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas: but it may be ſuppoſed, that the greateſt advantages are made by the people, who have not ſuch a diſtance to go; ſo that the products of all the neighbouring provinces are infinitely greater, than thoſe of others more diſtant.

I have heard, ſome Ruſſians affirm, that all this ſeeming increaſe of culture, of manufactures, and of commerce, is imaginary; that it is all owing to the ſovereign's fixing the ſeat of government here, which has not raiſed a new population, but drawn an old one from other provinces. Moſcow was once the metropolis, and the ſeat of government, &c. and Novogorod, the great ſtaple of trade; but Peterſburg now is both; and has half depopulated thoſe cities, as well as Archangel, which was once a place of very great trade. In anſwer to this, I allow, that part of the aſſertion is true; that much of the population

of this city, and its neighbourhood, is owing to a deſertion of other places; but, at the ſame time, I muſt inſiſt, that a new population muſt have been created by means of this city, becauſe a new induſtry has ſprung up, new trades opened, new manufactures eſtabliſhed, and innumerable artiſts employed, which were not in being before; and many of which could not have been in being, had not this city been founded. There is no doubt, but the Ruſſian commodities found, in ſmall quantities, their way into Europe, before Peter the Great's time; but every one muſt be ſenſible of the comparative ſmallneſs of the quantity, when they had not an European port, and when all their products, in order to get to the Baltick, were forced to ſubmit to a long land carriage through an enemy's country, and ſubject to whatever duties, that enemy choſe to lay on them. The preſent method of carrying on their trade, manufactures and products has, I think, every advantage over the former; and if this is allowed, it follows of courſe, that population is proportionably increaſed, and wealth moſt certainly; both which have a direct effect in raiſing the value of land, for a great diſtance around the capital.

But the building of the city was a work of the Great Peter's, which is giving it all the illuſtration,

illuſtration, that is neceſſary; for if ever mortal was endowed with the true art of governing, with that kind of univerſal genius, equally great in practice and ſpeculation, it was him. All his ideas, all his plans, had ſomething ſo great and comprehenſive in them; ſuch a power of foreſeeing future events, and ſuch abilities, in providing for them, that he never once failed in theory, tho' in practice, obſtacles ſometimes aroſe which were beyond his power to counteract. The founding of Peterſburg is one capital inſtance; for ever ſince he made it the ſeat of his marine, and the principal trading town of his dominions, it has been of more real ſervice to the empire, than any other meaſure, he could poſſibly have adopted. What an extent of political imagination is diſplayed in his inland navigations! They have a greatneſs, unrivalled in any other part of the world. But the moſt capital project of the Czar's was that, wherein he planned a navigation to the Mediterranean. Next to Peterſburg, the favourite of his empire, was Azoph, the reaſon of which was his deſign of eſtabliſhing a trade from thence, thro' the Thracian Boſphorus to the Archipelago. This would not only have given him greater mercantile advantages than Peterſburg,

but would have endangered the very being of the Turkiſh empire; by letting a naval power of the Ruſſians into the very heart of Conſtantinople; and that Peter deſigned ſomething more, than commerce, we may eaſily gather from his forming docks, yards, and naval magazines, at Azoph; and actually had ſhips of ſeventy guns upon the ſtocks, which ſufficiently ſhewed, that he intended a naval war upon the Euxine ſea againſt the Turks.

The Ruſſian empire, though of ſuch an amazing extent, is very well known to be badly peopled. The beſt writers inform us, that it contains ſeventeen millions of inhabitants, and one million in the conquered provinces; but from the beſt accounts I could get at Peterſburg, I believe the number at preſent to be more conſiderable. Almoſt from the moment, that the preſent empreſs began to reign, ſhe has increaſed the number of her ſubjects by many ways, principally by a general and very active encouragement of all arts, of agriculture, mining, manufactures and commerce, and this with ſuch effect, that all of them are more flouriſhing at this time by many degrees, than they were twenty years ago. And another means, which ſhe takes to increaſe her people, has been inviting foreigners; this

this ſhe has done, in a ſtill greater degree, than any of her predeceſſors; almoſt from her acceſſion to the empire, ſhe has brought continual bodies of Germans, Poles, and Greeks from Turkey, to ſettle in her dominions, and theſe not few in numbers; from the coaſts of Germany, ſhip loads, but from Poland and Turkey, whole towns, villages and diſtricts have left their habitations and ſettled in Ruſſia; nor has it been only at certain times, but regular emigration, in conſequence of her continued encouragement.

This encouragement, which the Empreſs has conſtantly granted, conſiſts in ſeveral very important articles. All the expences of the journey, or voyage from their native country, are borne by her; ſhe feeds and ſupports them by the way. Upon their arrival, at the territory, appointed them to cultivate, (which has always been part of the crown lands) every family has a cottage erected at her expence, to which they contribute labour; they then are furniſhed with implements, neceſſary for cultivation, and one year's proviſions for the whole family. A further advantage is an exemption from all taxes, during five years. All which is a ſyſtem of ſuch admirable policy, and carried into execution with ſuch unuſual ſpirit, even while the finances of the empire have been

been much diſtreſſed by expenſive wars, that I know not an inſtance in hiſtory, ſuperior to it. There can be no doubt, but the advantages muſt be immenſe, not only in population, but alſo revenue; for theſe ſettlers, though they have an aſſignment of lands for ever, yet it is, after a certain number of years, under payment of an annual quit-rent, ſufficient to produce a conſiderable revenue. The continued diſorders in Poland, and the oppreſſions in Turkey, have cauſed many thouſands of families, annually to leave their country, and make uſe of this bounty of the empreſs. By this time, the increaſe of people muſt be very great; ſome perſons, whoſe information I believe is very good, aſſured me, that the number of ſouls, thus gained, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent Czarina, is not leſs than ſix hundred thouſand; I muſt own, the number appears almoſt incredible. We may, without ſuppoſing the total, ſo very great, eaſily ſee from hence, that ſhe muſt have raiſed the revenue of the crown lands very much, and put them in a way of being yet more improved; for certainly, peopling them was the firſt rational ſtep, that could be taken, and one which never could deceive her. I made enquiries concerning the ſituation of the emigrants, and whether all the promiſes, that had

had been made to them, had been executed; and I was assured, that they were most punctually; but that, in very many cases, much more was done for them, than promised, and every effort taken, to make them perfectly satisfied with their choice; a proof of which is the increased numbers, that have been coming from the beginning: the accounts sent back by the first settlers, being such, as induced others to take the same measures, and this effect has been regular ever since; so that the number of new comers is at present greater than ever, and promises to be so considerable, that in a few years, if the troubles in Poland continue, the increase of people here will be immense, and with them, certainly, that of the power, and wealth of the empire. Nor has any event of her reign discovered a greater understanding, than this regular favour shewn to population.

The revenues of the Russian empire are very great, considering the value of money; which in these sort of disquisitions, ought ever to be considered, though it rarely is so. The Empress is, in many articles, the sole merchant in her dominions. The whole trade, by land to China, is on her account: this is not indeed considerable, for a caravan rarely goes now. Rhubarb, pot-ashes, and spices, are branches, in which she, and nobody else, trades.

trades. Salt is an article, that brings her in an immenſe revenue. Very large quantities of the beſt hemp of the Ukrain are bought and ſold on her account; much iron, the ſame; and even beer and brandy are her's. Beſides theſe articles, ſhe has cuſtoms, tolls, and a poll-tax of three ſhillings and ſix-pence a head. The crown-lands, which are prodigiouſly extenſive, bring in a conſiderable revenue.

The following general account was ſhewn me at Peterſburg of the Empreſs's revenue, reckoned in Engliſh money. It is handed about there, and thought to be not very far from the truth in any article.

Poll-tax	1,750,000
Crown-lands	672,000
Salt	542,000
Hemp and iron	370,000
China trade, Rhubarb, and Spices	48,000
Pot-aſhes	60,000
Cuſtans	179,000
Baths and licenſed houſes	68,000
Other duties &c. comprehending all other taxes	400,000
Total	£ 3,689,000

But the value of ſuch a revenue will not appear

appear clearly to any reader, that does not consider the great difference of the value of money in this country, and others, that are full of commerce and wealth; upon the nearest computation I can make, these four millions are about as good, as ten in England. And if we suppose them ten, we shall then see the great importance of liberty, trade and manufactures, in raising a publick revenue; for eighteen or nineteen millions of people in Russia, yield no greater revenue, than a third of that number, yield in England. Wealth, therefore, depends no further on population, than the industry of that population extends. It is a flourishing agriculture, improving manufactures, and an extensive commerce, which yield a great publick revenue. Introducing industry among all classes of people, that were not industrious before, is therefore as essential an increase of inhabitants, as bringing in foreign emigrants: both these means have been employed by the present sovereign of Russia, for the aggregate of the industry of this empire is vastly more considerable, than when she came to the throne.

She has issued out several edicts for the encouragement of agriculture; and herein she has proceeded with her usual politicks; for she rightly considered, that the way to make this most

moſt uſeful of all the arts, to flouriſh, is to ſet its profeſſors at eaſe; ſhe has accordingly given a much greater degree of liberty to the peaſants, than ever they enjoyed before; for they were greater ſlaves, than even in Poland; but now, every nobleman (called yet Boyards in Ruſſia) whoſe eſtate conſiſts of a given number of families, is obliged to enfranchiſe one family every year, and they are directed by the Empreſs to ſelect for this purpoſe the moſt induſtrious family they have: the peaſant has a farm aſſigned him, and the Empreſs makes him a preſent of ſome implement of the greateſt uſe; but he is, by the ſame edict, to pay after three years a rent to the nobleman, that is very conſiderable; the deſign of which is to convince the nobility of the advantage of letting their eſtates to the peaſants, for a rent in money: and I was informed, that many of them had made a great progreſs in it, partly from conviction of its expediency, and partly from paying their court to the ſovereign.

Beſides this meaſure, there are great encouragements given both in freedom, and in exemption from taxes and ſervices, to all thoſe, who improve waſte lands, by bringing them into culture. Such a ſyſtem is highly neceſſary in an empire, that contains more land than Europe, but not more inhabitants, than Germany;

Germany; and where, immenſe tracks of as fine ſoil, as any in the world, are utterly waſte. If the life of the preſent Empreſs is a long one, great things will be done in this walk of improvement, and many very extenſive territories cultivated, which have hitherto laid waſte. The foreigners, which ſhe has ſettled, and continues to ſettle, and the encouragement which huſbandry meets with, will have a great effect, in giving a new countenance to the agriculture of many provinces.

I made enquiries concerning the preſent ſtate of Ruſſian manufactures, and was informed, that they have never been able to make them, any thing conſiderable: They have at Peterſburg ſome very large founderies, where all ſorts of ammunition and military ſtores are made; and they make ſome very good cloth of hemp, but the quantity of this laſt is not conſiderable. There are many other fabricks, but not of conſequence, nor any ways proportioned to the number of the people. They have many woollen manufactories, but they do not cloath even their own army. England has the greateſt ſhare in the commerce of ſupplying them; the import, at Peterſburg of coarſe and fine woollen cloths, is very conſiderable: what we do not ſend them, they have from the Dutch; but the French

ſend

ſend none. Nor is there hardly a manufactory in England, that does not ſend great quantities of its fabricks hither; and, notwithſtanding, ſo great an exportation, yet the importation of hemp, iron, &c. is ſo great, that a large balance is paid (as I before mentioned) to Ruſſia. There are ſeveral inſtances of much encouragement being given to the national manufactures, but the effect has not been great, and I muſt own myſelf of opinion, that it never will be great; for the Ruſſians do not ſeem to take to any ſort, but thoſe, in which they are from their infancy converſant. They make excellent carpenters, ſhip-builders, ſmiths, and founders, but they will never make a figure, as weavers.

It alſo deſerves enquiry, whether it would be highly political, to make any great efforts in complicated manufactures, which require very many hands, while there is ſo immenſe a territory to cultivate, and not of barren mountains, like Sweden, but of great extended plains of as rich land, as the beſt parts of England, or even Holland: conſequently, with ſuch materials to work upon, it is much to be queſtioned, if a given number of hands would not in raiſing hemp and flax, or making potaſhes, bring in a greater ſum of money to the country, than if they were employed in manufactures.

nufactures. It appears to me very clearly, that they would. From the deſcriptions, which I have had of ſeveral immenſe provinces of this empire, I have no doubt, but a thouſand pounds and ten people would, employed in attending cattle, yield a greater return in hides and tallow alone, than from any manufactures they could be employed in; for there are meadows (not bogs or marſhes) covered with fine graſs of an hundred ſquare miles in a place, with no other inhabitants, than what are wild, and very few of them. In a country, where there is ſuch plenty of excellent land, and through which, run ſo many navigable rivers, that would convey all its products to a ready market; and notwithſtanding theſe advantages, there are large waſtes, ſtill on the very banks of thoſe rivers; under ſuch circumſtances, I apprehend, that no attention to manufactures can yield a profit, equal to a proper cultivation: the wealth ariſing from it, would be far greater, the public revenue would be much more improved, and population increaſed in a much greater proportion. If I was ſufficiently verſed in the theory of ſtocking ground with inſtruments of tillage, and with cattle, &c. I ſhould be able to make this appear by minute calculations; but I do

not apprehend, that there is any reaſon, in general, to doubt it.

While this is the caſe, whoever fills the throne of Ruſſia, will moſt advance the intereſts of that empire, by promoting, by every poſſible means, the cultivation of ſo immenſe a territory; if there happens a ſucceſſion for a long period of time, of ſuch ſovereigns, as at preſent fill that throne, this vaſt empire will be raiſed by theſe means to a pitch of grandeur, much exceeding, what it at preſent poſſeſſes: and from the conduct, which has been hitherto purſued by the preſent Empreſs, there is great reaſon to think, that ſhe is ſenſible of the importance of directing her views principally to this end; they have hitherto been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, as to be a very ſtrong proof, that the plan, upon which ſhe has proceeded, is a juſt one; a different one might have been followed more in favour of manufactures, by planting the foreign emigrants thickly in the near neighbourhood of thoſe places only, which have fabrics in them, with a view to the employment of many of them in theſe manufactures.

Relative to the commerce of Ruſſia, it ſhould be remembered, previouſly to any enquiry into its preſent ſtate, that this immenſe empire is by no means ſituated advantageouſly for

for trade. The only ports that it poſſeſſes, from which any trade of conſequence can be carried on, are in the Baltick, a ſea, that is frozen almoſt half the year; and, at the ſame time, it is at the extremity of the empire; ſo that the commodities, which are exported through this ſea, are obliged to be brought ſome thouſand of miles, before they are put on board the ſhips. This is ſuch a diſadvantage, that it much affects the commerce of the empire, and is of a nature, that will not admit of any remedy. This circumſtance conſidered, the commerce of Ruſſia is very conſiderable, as to the export of its products and commodities, but the ſhipping of the empire is very trifling, compared with that to which ſhe gives employment. All the trade, which the Engliſh carry on with Ruſſia, is in their own bottoms; it is the ſame with the Dutch, and almoſt all other European nations; ſo that the Ruſſian flag is ſcarcely known in the world, although Ruſſian commodities are met with in ſo many places.

To remedy this evil by a general extenſion of commerce, and by procuring a navigation on a more favourable ſea, the Czar, Peter the Great, formed the noble plan of raiſing a naval power on the Black ſea, and eſtabliſhing a commerce on it, with a communication thro'

the ſea of Conſtantinople with the Mediterranean; one of the greateſt deſigns, which could have entered the head of any ſovereign of Ruſſia, and which would give a very conſiderable ſhare of the commerce of the world to that empire. It ſhould be remembered, that the richeſt products, which Ruſſia exports, are thoſe of the moſt ſouthernly provinces, particularly the Ukraine; which is univerſally allowed to be one of the fineſt countries in the world; the rivers, which flow thro' this territory, all take their courſe to the Black ſea; ſo that it is only by an artificial navigation, and a long land carriage, that they are brought to Peterſburg. It is well known, that they could be delivered at Conſtantinople for a much leſs price than at Peterſburg; which, with the increaſe of trade, reſulting from a navigation open all the year, and immediately into the center of Europe, would give the empire at one ſtroke, ten times the commerce, it can ever poſſeſs otherwiſe; and would, at the ſame time, give the Czarina ſuch an advantage over the Turks, as to endanger the very exiſtence of Conſtantinople, and with it, that of their empire. And if the plan, upon which that great monarch conducted his wars againſt the Turks, be conſidered, it will appear, that he never loſt ſight of this great object. Azoph

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was the town, which he acquired at a very great expence of men and money: he fortified it at a yet greater expence, and built a fleet of ſtout ſhips for that navigation, with docks, yards, and magazines of all ſorts; but the unfortunate campaign of the Pruth put an end to his hopes, and gave back that conqueſt to the Turks. Had he been ſucceſsful, he deſigned the conqueſt of the Crimea, which would at once have given him poſſeſſion of a noble province, and the command of the Euxine. The ſame idea was ſteadily purſued in the war of 1735, which ended with the ceſſion of Azoph to the Ruſſians, a fortreſs, of all others, the moſt important for the proſecution of this deſign.

A very little reflection will give us an idea of ſome of the conſequences, which would, in all probability, attend the execution of this plan. Without ſuppoſing an entire conqueſt of Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Walachia, with the Tartar diſtricts to the North of the ſea, as ſome writers have done, let us only ſtate the navigation, from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, being made free to both nations, and Azoph and the Crimea in the hands of the Ruſſians. They would then have a free navigation from all parts of their empire, by

means of the Tanais and the Donetz, down to Azoph; that port would then be the grand magazine of all the commodities of their empire, where their ſhips would load for diſtributing them through all the ſouthern countries of Europe, and on the coaſt of Africa, at the ſame time, that Peterſburg ſent them to all the Northern ones. But this trade would gave them a new export, which would prove, perhaps, of more conſequence, than all the others put together; that of corn: the fineſt territories of Europe for huſbandry are ſaid to be the tracks on the North of the Black ſea, including the province of the Ukraine; at preſent, theſe countries have no vent for ſuch a product, and therefore raiſe no more, than for their own conſumption; but, in caſe of ſuch a Ruſſian navigation, as I am now ſpeaking of, this territory would lie much better for ſupplying the beſt corn markets in Europe, than thoſe, which at preſent ſupply them. Barbary and Sicily, it is true, yield an uncertain ſupply; but it is well known, that Holland ſupplies moſt of the demands of Portugal, Spain, and Italy, when embargoes are laid in England; and the Duth bring the corn, they thus trade in from Dantzick; let the reader therefore compare the navigation from Azoph, to all the coaſts of the Mediterranean, with that from

from Dantzick, round three fourths of Europe. It is very evident, that the Ruſſians would at once command the entire ſupply of all thoſe countries; not only, with ſo important an article, as that of corn, but would, for the ſame reaſon, gain the excluſive trade of naval ſtores to them likewiſe; iron, hemp, canvaſs, timber, &c.

Relative to ſtrength in war, the ſucceſs of ſuch a plan would only be too great; for one can hardly ſuppoſe, the Turks would ſubmit to a Ruſſian navigation, through the heart of Conſtantinople, without they were firſt reduced to the laſt extremity; and in ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, their ſubmitting to it, would, in caſe of a ſucceeding war, be but another word for the overthrow of their empire. It would depend on the naval force of the two empires on the Black ſea; for whichever fleet, in caſe of a quarrel, was ſuperior, they would nearly command the event of the war; if the Turks had the better, the Ruſſians would be cut off from all the advantages propoſed; and if victory declared for the latter, Conſtantinople, and all the provinces of the Ottoman empire, would be expoſed to them in the moſt dangerous manner; and if the advantages of the Ruſſians, in building and equpping fleets, with their territory behind them, ſo abounding with

all ſorts of materials, be conſidered, it can hardly be doubted, but they would gain the moſt deciſive ſuperiority. Nor ſhould I omit obſerving, that the mere poſſeſſion of Azoph might be made a means of putting this plan in execution, and carrying any future war, if well directed, to the gates of Conſtantinople.

Let any one conſider the preſent aſpect of affairs in that quarter, and the motions of the Ruſſian troops, and it will be evident, that this idea is now in being; and that, in all probability, before the preſent war ſees a period, the Turks will find the arms of Ruſſia, infinitely heavier, than in the laſt, and themſelves attacked with a maritime force on the Black ſea, much too great for them to contend with. I have been told, that it is a fixed determination of the Czarina's, not to conclude this war, without gaining a powerful eſtabliſhment on the Black ſea, ſo that Azoph may be but one ſtep, to connect with further and equally important acquiſitions.

If we judge from the preſent ſtate of the Ruſſian army, we may look for great ſucceſs; from the firſt foundation of it, the officers did not want experience; and the men may all be called veterans. It is the ſame army, that ſaw all the campaigns againſt the king of Pruſ-

Pruſſia, that were beat, without flying, at Zorndorf, and conquered at Cunnerſdorf; and that have ſince been in continual action in Poland, and always victorious. It conſiſts of two hundred and fifty thouſand old ſoldiers, ſixty thouſand of which are horſe, better mounted, and finer troops, than any, that were ever in the Ruſſian army before; with a train of artillery as fine, as any in the world, and what is yet of more conſequence, well ſupplied with officers and engineers, from all parts of Europe, attracted by every munificent encouragement. The Ruſſians are very ſenſible, that the loſſes they ſuſtained, and their want of ſucceſs in general, againſt the king of Pruſſia, was owing to their artillery, being very badly ſerved, and it has given them a great eagerneſs to remedy this fatal evil; and, at preſent, I believe, they have done it effectually; they will not any where be wanting in ſucceſs on that account.

This empire has not any neighbours, to whom it is not much ſuperior in force, and in the conſtitution of its army. Poland is at its mercy, and will continue ſo, till ſhe is reduced to a province, an event, I ſhould never be much ſurprized at. Pruſſia is not comparable in power to Ruſſia, and could never make the ſtand againſt her arms again, that we ſaw

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in the laſt war; becauſe the Ruſſian army is better, more numerous, and with an artillery, that yields to none in Europe; and, at the ſame time, with an advantage ſhe never enjoyed before; Poland behind her, three fourths of it abſolutely in her power, to winter in, inſtead of falling back to Ruſſia, which was the caſe before. I dwell the more upon theſe particulars, becauſe it appears very clearly to me, that the next general war will ſee theſe two powers again in oppoſition, and I conjecture with very different ſucceſs.

The preſent ſtate of the Ruſſian navy promiſes alſo well to the empire; for it never ſaw ſo many hands, employed in it, ſince the time of Peter the Great to the preſent. New ſhips are every day launching at Peterſburg, and all the old ones, repairing with great expedition; a ſtout ſquadron is fitting out, of ſuch a force, that one would think, the Empreſs meant to awe the Baltic, while her army is employed againſt the Turks. She has many ſhip-carpenters on the Tanais, and will be extremely formidable on the Black ſea. So that if ever Ruſſia began a war with a good proſpect of ſucceſs, it is this againſt the Turks.

There are many Engliſh at Peterſburg; beſides ſeveral gentlemen in the Britiſh factory, with

with whom I became acquainted, on my firſt coming hither: there are ſo many, that I am convinced, we have more people in the Ruſſian ſervice by ſea and land, as well as in many other departments, than is conjectured in England. They certainly meet with good encouragement, or they would not be tempted to leave their own country; and very politic it is of the Empreſs, to avail herſelf ſo ſtrongly of the alliance, ſhe has with us; for nothing can be of more importance to her, than getting as many of our officers by ſea and land into her ſervice, as poſſible; men, ſhe has in abundance, and men, that will ſtand for ever to be ſhot at; but the deſarts of Ruſſia will not give her experienced officers, tho' her own wars have formed many, under the tuition of foreigners. Our engineers are of infinite conſequence to her; and ſhe has great numbers of ſhip- carpenters from Britain, as well as officers and common ſeamen. There never was a period, more favourable to ſuch deſigns, than the concluſion of the late war, in which we had employed a greater number of forces, both by land and ſea, than we could poſſibly keep up in peace; ſo that very many of them might be ſuppoſed willing enough to enter into the ſervice of a power, in alliance with us;

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an opportunity invaluable to the Empreſs, and of which, I am clear, ſhe made good uſe.

This cauſe, with the conſtant trade we carry on with Peterſburg, fills that city with Engliſh, Sotch, and Iriſh; but they make no great figure; which is very eaſily, accounted for. From what I have ſeen of the Ruſſians, the character, I had heard of them, appears very juſt; they are a ſtrange people, that carry, in all the lower claſſes, the marks of civility, juſt emerging from barbarity. They are obedient, and very patient; but have a moroſeneſs, that ſeems, as if it would never be tamed. The loweſt among them live in conſtant ſeverity, yet that does not ſeem to bow down their ſpirits or activity, as ſlavery does in all other countries: they make nothing of hardſhips, and will bear in continuance, what would deſtroy, in a ſhort time, other people of leſs robuſt conſtitutions. The higher claſſes, however, ſhow nothing of this. They appear, in ſome meaſure, like other people, which is the effect of luxury among them, that every where ſoftens and humanizes the people among whom it comes. It may be thought odd by thoſe, who have never been in Ruſſia, that I ſhould talk of luxury among the Muſcovites; but there is no Court in Europe, in which (the ſituation and other circumſtances of the country

try conſidered) there is more luxury; and particularly, in the article of dreſs, equipage, ſervants, and the table; which is including the moſt devouring branches of it. I have been three times at court, which is, what we commonly call, very ſplendid; the dreſſes of every body are more expenſive, than I have any where ſeen: all in gold and ſilver and jewels, but ſcarcely any taſte; they have in their dreſſes but one ambition, which is to be as rich, as poſſible, and to have a great change; but as to having an idea of taſte, and real elegance, even the nobility ſeem not to know, what it is. They are ridiculouſly ſhewy, the climate conſidered, in their coaches and ſledges, thinking, in every inſtance of this ſort, that their rank can only be manifeſted by an enormous expence. In their tables alſo, they are in the ſame ſtile; profuſe in every thing: this has a very bad effect; for their revenues, a part of which ought to be expended upon their eſtates in improvements, and finding employment for their neighbouring poor, are all ſquandered in the luxury of the capital, giving employment to Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, and Dutchmen, inſtead of their own countrymen. I know not, what motive the government can have had, for a long while, in encouraging this profuſion, unleſs it be, to keep

keep all the nobles poor, and thereby the more dependent.

The government of Ruſſia is the moſt abſolute in Europe; there is not even the appearance of the leaſt barrier, between the will of the ſovereign and the people: all ranks are equally ſlaves to the Empreſs, not ſubjects; and their puniſhments ſhew the ſpirit of the legiſlature; the greateſt nobility are liable to ſuffer the knout, that is, to be whipped to death; and other violent puniſhments are uſed, ſuch as cutting out tongues, hanging up by the ribs, and many other efforts of barbarity, which ſhew the cruelty of deſpotiſm, without having any good effect. In the ſame ſpirit alſo, we have ſeen the revolutions of the government: ſcarcely, a ſovereign dies a natural death, but is cut off; and, by a revolution in the government, a wife, a brother, or a ſiſter, fixed in the throne; and all this performed by the regiments of guards, who, in fact, are pretorian cohorts, giving away the empire at their pleaſure. This is ever a mark of a deſpotic government, which is always inſecure, in proportion to its ſeverity.

It is amazing, that politic princes, who are advanced to a throne by the favour of two or three regiments of guards, do not ſee in a clearer manner, that the ſame power, which

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gives, can take away; and, the moment they are firmly fixed in their power, do not extirpate the corps to whom they owe their advancement. Peter the Great ſaw the tendency of the Strelites and diſbanded them, inſtituting three regiments of guards in their place; but theſe guards, from not being ſent to diſtant campaigns, and being conſtantly around the perſon of the ſovereign, are, in fact, the ſame in power and opportunity, as the Strelites. In a free government, or even in an abſolute monarch, provided, there is a ſhew of ſome liberty, ſuch, as is in the kingdoms of France, Spain, &c. we do not ſee the guards, daring to act in this manner: but in countries of pure deſpotiſm, like Ruſſia, Turkey, Perſia, &c. a prince, in order to be ſafe, ſhould have no guards in particular, but all the regiments of his army, ſhould be guards by turns; and when he is away from the capital, the garriſon of every place, he is in, be his guard, for the time he is there. This method, tho' it might not inſure them from all the evils, which attend deſpotiſm, yet it would give them a much greater degree of ſecurity, than they could poſſibly be in otherwiſe; which one would apprehend an object of the firſt importance.

The Roman hiſtory is full of inſtances of emperors

emperors being depoſed, and others ſet up, by the pretorian cohorts. Many are the Ottoman emperors, who have been ſtrangled by the Janiſſaries; and the hiſtories of other countries, under ſimilar circumſtances, abound with the like examples; which ſhould make thoſe monarchs, that owe their advancement to a few regiments, ſelected from the reſt of the army, throw all their forces upon the ſame footing.

Peterſburg is tolerably gay, beſides the brilliancy, it derives from the court. There are a great many concerts, in which we find numerous performers of great merit, but all Germans; here are plays alſo exhibited, but irregularly, and not with agreeable circumſtances; an opera was eſtabliſhed, but it did not laſt long; but by the accounts I have had, the gala time is, when parties can be made on the ice: In winter, all the country is covered with ſnow, frozen ſo hard, that it is the common ſeaſon for travelling; and then innumerable parties are made in ſledges, which are drawn on the frozen ſnow over lakes, plains, rivers, bogs, &c. and muſt form a ſpectacle, really aſtoniſhing to thoſe, who never beheld it: I am alſo told, that this way of travelling is ſo very commodious, expeditious, and agreeable, that a thouſand miles are paſſed with much

much greater eaſe, than an hundred at any other ſeaſon. As I purpoſe ſeeing the ſouthern provinces of the empire, I ſhall therefore be gone, before this entertainment is to be reaped; but, if I can make it tolerably convenient, will take a ſhare in it, on my return for Poland; tho' I have no great idea of travelling on ſnow with any degree of information, or even much entertainment; for the ſoil, and the cultivation of it, and the ſtate of the peaſants, which afford me, not only inſtruction, but entertainment, are then rendered inviſible; ſo that a journey, full of the greateſt variety, muſt have then an entire ſameneſs. This frozen ſnow is, however, of prodigious conſequence to the trade of this country; for carriage upon it, is wonderfully cheap, and more expeditious, than can well be conceived, which is a matter of great advantage to a country, that has ſuch roads as Ruſſia.

The journey, from Peterſburg to Pekin, is the longeſt, that is gone by land throughout the world; it is near a year and half going, and as much returning; but then it is a trading caravan, much encumbered with baggage and merchandize, and in a part of the route with water; for all the men and cattle, for many days, are paſſing ſandy deſarts, which are utterly void of water. Part of this im-

menſe route is performed on the ſnow, through a northerly part of Siberia, where there are no roads, which are paſſable, except on the ſnow. Of this vaſt journey, Mr. Bell, in his travels, has given a very good account. It is much owing to that gentleman, that the world knows any thing of Siberia, which is certainly one of the moſt extenſive countries in the world; and, to the ſurprize of the weſtern part of Europe, conſiſts of ſeveral provinces, all of them three or four times as big, as Great Britain, with a moſt fertile ſoil, and a mild climate in the ſouthern parts, capable of feeding a moſt numerous population; but inſtead of being peopled, in any proportion, to its ſize, it is, comparatively ſpeaking, a mere deſart. But I can never be perſuaded, that it is impoſſible for a ſovereign of Ruſſia, who ſets heartily about it with judgment, activity, and penetration, to people all his dominions; or, at leaſt, to put them in a way of doubling their numbers, in as ſhort a period, as ever our American colonies did; for this great work a time of profound peace would be neceſſary, and an emperor, that was of a truly philoſophic diſpoſition. Liberty muſt be diffuſed, all ſlavery of the lower ranks broken through, and every man allowed to become a farmer, that pleaſes.

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I purpoſed leaving Peterſburg, the firſt week in September, being the furtheſt time, I was informed, that I could venture to ſet out upon a long journey, unleſs I ſtaid till the froſt and ſnow were ſet in. My deſign was to go to Moſcow, and from thence to Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine, a country, I was deſirous of ſeeing. Upon making enquiries into the proper preparations for ſuch a journey, I found, there were but two plans; one, to travel with a carravan to Moſcow, and the other to go only with my own attendants, of which I ſhould not have leſs than five, and all well armed: that it would not be adviſeable to travel with my own horſes, as I might procure a military order, to be ſupplied by the peaſants, from poſt to poſt, at a ſmall price; and, at the ſame time, the owner of the horſes would attend as a guide. In purſuance of this advice, I ſold my little Swediſh horſes, though ſomething againſt my will, and made up my guard with my own ſervant, my German poſtillion, and my Swede, who underſtood the Ruſſian language; and to theſe I added, by the favour of General Woroſoff (to whom I am otherwiſe much indebted) two foot ſoldiers from his own regiment. Theſe five fellows were each of them armed with a broad ſword, a pair of piſtols and a carbine; and I

carried a pair of piſtols and a ſhort rifled barrel gun, which were my arms from Denmark through all Sweden, though I never had any neceſſity of uſing them. Thus equipped, I was aſſured, I might travel in perfect ſafety through all Ruſſia.

CHAP. V.

Journey from Peterſburg to Moſcow—Deſcription of the Country—Great Settlement of Poles—Moſcow—Journey into The Ukraine—Account of that fine Province—Deſcription of the Agriculture of it—Culture of Hemp, Tobacco, &c.

I LEFT Peterſburg, the 6th of September, and, with much difficulty, got to Juamgorod, which is fifty miles, through a country which is alternately a marſh and woods. From thence to Novogorod took me three days, being the diſtance of one hundred miles. I laid, both nights, at Ruſſian inns. I travelled in the character of a general officer in the King of England's ſervice, which was of no ſlight uſe to me; for it is not eaſy to conceive the reſpect, which all the lower ranks of people pay to the military, of whatever nation, provided they make any figure; and the number

ber of my attendants, with their being so well armed, and the various languages we spoke, seemed to impress the people with a notion, that I was a person of very great consequence. The Russians have nothing in them that one can properly call civility, but I met with the most perfect obsequiousness and obedience; and having provided myself with good bread, I lived upon excellent fish, throughout the journey. About Novogorod, the country is part of it cultivated, but the inclosures are thin, and there do not seem to be any great exertions of industry in it, but the soil appears to be a fine, deep, rich loam.

September the 11th, I got to Midna, which is above forty miles. This line of country is beautiful, being in fine, but gentle inequalities, and only sprinkled with small woods, and well watered with rivers: there is much cultivated land; but the harvest was all got in. I saw some crops of turneps, such as are common in Sweden, and as fine, but the people seem to be very miserable. Many of the peasants have farms, but then they can only work them, when their landlords allow: three or four days in the week, they labour on the lands of their masters, finding sometimes cattle and implements, in consideration of being allowed the rest of their time on their

own farms; yet for theſe, they pay a conſiderable rent in products, and are beſides open to the ſupplying all military travellers with horſes, for which they get a very ſpare allowance, and ſometimes nothing at all. In a word, their ſtate is ſo little better, than the common labourers, who work conſtantly for their lords, that I did not find it a matter of envy to the latter.

The 12th I reached Thedray, a little town, prettily ſituated near a river, the ſame country continuing for forty-four miles, and much of it tolerably well cultivated. I paſſed through ſeveral very extenſive plains of meadow, that appeared very fine, but were not well ſtocked with cattle. The villages ſeem very well peopled.

The 14th I got to Twera, which is a conſiderable town on the river Wolga, the diſtance above eighty miles. The peaſants have hitherto furniſhed me very well with horſes; yet their pay is not three farthings a mile, with ſomething for the peaſant. I have given to the value of four-pence Engliſh for a day's journey, with which they ſeem to be very well ſatisfied; from whence I conjecture, that they uſually have nothing. This line of country is pretty well peopled. I paſſed through ſeveral towns, and many villages, with

with ſome cultivated country, that was cut into incloſures, and appeared to be kept in good order. Upon making enquiry, they informed me, that they cultivated barley, oats, and buck-wheat; and, from the beſt conjecture I can make, from the intelligence they gave me, in Ruſſian weight and meaſure, to the amount of between two and three quarters Engliſh per acre. All the lands, that are in culture here, belong to the nobility, whoſe agents manage them with the peaſants: but ſome which they pointed out at a diſtance, belonged to others, who, I found, were poſſeſſors of the land, but not nobles; in other words, gentlemen. It was with ſome difficulty, that I could get my two ſoldiers to behave with any decency to the peaſants; they were always ready for giving them a blow, when gentle words would do to the full as well; but I curbed this licentiouſneſs, which gave me a clear idea of the government of Ruſſia, and, at the ſame time, convinced me, that all the Empreſs's fine ſchemes for encouraging agriculture muſt inevitably come to nothing. The peaſant, who conducted me to Twera, told me, on the road, that ſuch a track of land was his father's farm; that it belonged to him, not being hired of any landlord; and would, after his father's death, come to him.

I ſaid, then he would have an opportunity of living much better, and being more comfortable than at preſent. He replied, no; that if he got any thing, the Count Woronoſkoy would take it, for there was a payment (which I took to be in the nature of a quit-rent) to him out of it. I obſerved ſeveral good tracks, that were arable; he ſaid, that his father's land was chiefly meadow, but he hired ſome ploughed ground of the Count; and I found, that the rent of good arable land was two ſhillings an acre, that was in regular culture. But this is not a mark of great cheapneſs, the prices of all products being proportionate; for good bread is, through this country, at about a farthing a pound, and mutton and beef ſomething better than three farthings, but under a penny; ſo that every thing elſe muſt of courſe be proportionate. And a farmer muſt cultivate a large track of ground to raiſe a ſmall ſum of money; but the caſe is, that money is ſo valuable, that they raiſe no more products, than neceſſary for their common purpoſes and rent, and the ſmall ſum they bring, anſwers, where all things are proportioned. I found from this man's account, that a farmer, who lived upon his own eſtate, was at the mercy of the neareſt nobleman, and, if he grew rich, would ſurely be

be fleeced by him. It is impoſſible to introduce improvements into ſuch a country, without an entire new ſyſtem.

As I advanced in my journey, I every where made enquiries after new ſettlements on the lands, belonging to the Empreſs; but heard nothing of them, till I got to Twera: there they told me, that in the foreſt of Volkouſkile, about an hundred miles to the ſouth-weſt, was a very large new colony of Poles, ſettled at the expence of the Czarina. I immediately determined to go out of my way to view it, that I might have an opportunity to ſee, in what manner they were fixed, and what a reception they met with. I got there the 16th, paſſing through a country, the chief of which is waſte, being either foreſt or meadow, but with few villages. I found the ſettlement of Poles, conſiſted of about ſix hundred families, and pleaſed me better, than any thing I had ſeen in Ruſſia. Each family has a ſmall, but not a bad houſe, built of wood, and covered with ſhingles; a houſe as good or better, than the generality of ſmall farm-houſes in England, where the mud walls would give foreigners an idea, that we were the pooreſt nation in Europe. Behind every houſe was an incloſure of about fifty Engliſh acres in one field. The fence was a ditch

ditch and parapet, with a row of young plants for a hedge, that ſeemed to be a kind of elm. Each incloſure came down to a rivulet, where cattle might water. Each family had two ſheep, and a ram, to a certain number, a cow, and a couple of oxen to till the arable, with a cart and a plough; all which were at the Empreſs's expence, and do not coſt, what they would in England. This may be conceived, when I give the rates. Two oxen for ploughing and carting, come to but five pounds; a cow to thirty ſhillings; a ſheep eighteen-pence; a plough four ſhillings; a cart nine ſhillings; each houſe coſt the Empreſs about four and twenty ſhillings; and every family had an allowance of proviſion, the firſt year, from the neighbouring country, which coſt her nothing; ſo that the total expence, per family, was only eight pounds ten ſhillings, and many of the families conſiſt of eight or nine perſons. The farms were all under culture, and ſubdivided by the people themſelves; and I obſerved, that theſe inner fences were done exactly in the ſame manner, as the ſurrounding ones. Some had four fields, others five, and ſome ſix. The land, when they ſettled it, was waſte foreſt, but not many trees on it, that yielded a wild and luxuriant graſs: it is a red loam on clay. The

peaſants

peaſants cultivate wheat without exception, which they had been uſed to in Poland; each had one field of it; alſo a crop of barley, oats, or rice; with a piece of beans, and another of turneps. Their farms were in general in good order, and they ſeemed to be extremely diligent and induſtrious in their management. Some of them had vaſtly increaſed their cattle, keeping as many, as they pleaſed on the adjoining foreſt: ſome had more than twenty ſheep, ten cows, and ſix oxen; but they had greatly increaſed their farms, which the Empreſs allows, provided the former portion is all in culture. They all ſeemed to be perfectly happy, being entirely free from all oppreſſion by being on the lands of the crown; and there is no doubt, but they will in time yield a fine revenue, without any ſeverity being employed.

Some of them had pieces of hemp, which thrives with them ſo well, that its culture increaſes among them daily. I enquired particularly into the value of an acre, and found, that it was worth upon the ſpot from fifty ſhillings to four pounds, which, I think, is very conſiderable, and ſhews, that theſe new colonies may prove a ſource of very great wealth and population.

It is extremely evident from this inſtance, that the way of bringing improvements to bear in Ruſſia, is not by encouragements, given to the peaſants, unleſs they could at once be ſet as free, as in other countries, which, I am convinced already, is an impoſſibility, from what I have ſeen on this journey; becauſe the nobility and other land-owners, to whom they are vaſſals, fleece and oppreſs them to ſuch a degree, that they can never be ſecure of any property, unleſs their encouragement comes from their own lords. Even they, who are not vaſſals, but have poſſeſſions of their own, are trampled on by the ſoldiery. No improvement, by giving them a greater degree of liberty, can therefore have any effect, unleſs it comes from their lords; as in this caſe of the Poliſh emigrants. The Empreſs, fixing them upon the crown-lands, they are vaſſals of the crown, and all the liberty, ſhe chuſes to give them, they will ſecurely enjoy, without any one's daring to injure them in any reſpect; and as the ſovereign can never profitably cultivate an extenſive domain for her own account, this is the only means of working improvements, and they cannot fail of proving moſt highly profitable.

And the nobility have it alſo in their power to make the ſame improvements upon their own

own eſtates, becauſe, under their protection, the peaſants would be ſecure. But as to all general improvements in huſbandry, it is merely impoſſible, that they ſhould be attended with the leaſt effect. Every landlord has every thing in his power upon his own lands, provided, I mean, he be of rank and conſequence; and they have the ability, by means of the ſlavery of their peaſants, to work very great effects, if they pleaſed to undertake them. Laws or edicts therefore muſt be directed to them: the rewards, for a proper conduct ſhould all be granted to them; the Empreſs ſhould addreſs herſelf to them, and let them find favour at court, in proportion to the cultivation of their eſtates: theſe are the only means of doing great things.

The crown lands are ſo amazingly extenſive, that very great things might in this manner be done, and far more effectually, than by general laws, in a country, where the people are ſo habituated to ſlavery, that it would be a vain attempt to free them under all maſters. Theſe ſix hundred families had at once thirty thouſand acres in culture, beſides the increaſe, which, by many of them, was very conſiderable; all which will, in proceſs of time, yield a great revenue to the crown, beſides, the acquiſition of ſtrength, which

which the empire receives by the addition of population, and the amount of ſo much induſtry, as all theſe people create. After five years, this colony is to pay an annual rent, which in ten more will be increaſed, and after that, remain a freehold to the Poles, ſubject only to that rent. An idea of the field, which the Empreſs has for improvement, may be conjectured by one contiguous track of waſte and foreſt, partly in the Ziranni province, which contains above thirty-ſeven millions of Engliſh acres, and belongs to the crown, beſides tracks in Siberia and Tartary, ten times as large. It is therefore extremely evident, that the great object of Ruſſian politicks ſhould be the peopling and cultivating the crown lands; which, if managed with unremitted diligence, and without ſparing expence, might be continually on the improvement, and in ſuch ſwift manner, that the quantity of land, rendered profitable, might ſoon be immenſely great.

This colony of Poles have a market in the middle of their ſettlement on the great road, where merchants reſort to buy their ſpare products, hemp, &c. bringing all thoſe ſorts of commodities, which they want; and this trade occaſions a circulation among them, which is highly advantageous. The report

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of the indulgence and benefits, they have met with, has had great effect in Poland; so that they pointed out to me a track of land contiguous, where they soon expected two hundred families more. Having viewed several farms of the settlers, and made such enquiries as I thought necessary, I set out for Moscow without returning to Twera, the distance is one hundred and seventeen miles; and I arrived there the 20th, passing through a very finely variegated country, well watered and wooded, and spread in fine plains, with many villages scattered through them, and much appearance of cultivation: all this country is in the hands of three or four nobles, whose stewards direct the management of it.

This city is the greatest in the empire; it was once strongly fortified for this part of the world, but the security of the present times has made every thing unnecessary, except a wall: It is about sixteen miles in circumference, and contains about half a million of inhabitants; till lately, the Czars spent a part of the year here; but the palace, which is a very indifferent one, having been damaged by fire, they have not of late years been there; but notwithstanding this, Moscow is the residence of a vast number of the nobility, indeed, of three fourths of those, whose offices

or expectations do not oblige them to attend the court; in which inſtance, there is a greater appearance of liberty, than in moſt other countries; for in general, all the nobility of a kingdom flock to the ſeat of goverment.

Moſcow is very irregularly built; but it is a beautiful city, from the windings of the river, and from many eminences which are covered with groves of fine tall trees, and from numerous gardens, and lawns, which, opening to the water, give it a moſt pleaſing airy appearance. I expected to ſee nothing, but wooden houſes, but was agreeably ſurprized at the ſight of many very fine fabricks of brick and ſtone. It is beyond compariſon a finer city than Peterſburg. The number of churches and chapels, amounting, it is ſaid, to eighteen hundred, make a great figure in the printed deſcriptions of this city; but from the appearance of them, I ſhould ſuppoſe the fact falſe, and that out of great numbers, very few are worthy of note. I ſaw the great bell, which is the largeſt in the world, and indeed a moſt ſtupendous thing it is. They have many other bells in the city, which much exceed any thing, that is elſewhere to be met with; the Ruſſians being remarkably fond of this ornament of their churches.

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There is a very conſiderable manufacture at Moſcow of various hemp fabricks; particularly, ſail cloth and ſheeting, which employs ſome thouſands of looms, and many thouſands of people; the hemp is, moſt of it, brought from the Ukraine: there are alſo great numbers of conſiderable merchants here, who carry on a very extenſive commerce with all parts of the empire; for there is water carriage from hence to the Black and Caſpian ſeas, and with but few interruptions to the Baltick alſo, which are circumſtances, that make it the center of a very great commerce.

This city is much better ſituated for the metropolis of the empire than Peterſburg: It is almoſt in the center of the moſt cultivated parts of it; communicating, in the manner above-mentioned, with the three inland ſeas, not at a great diſtance from the moſt important province of the empire, the Ukraine; open to the ſouthern territories on the Black ſea, and by means of the rivers Wolga and the Don, commanding an inland navigation of prodigious extent. Its vicinity alſo to the countries, which muſt always be the ſeat of any wars with the Turks, the enemies, moſt to be attended to of all thoſe with whom the Ruſſians wage war; make it, upon the whole, infinitely a better ſituation for the ſeat of go-

vernment, than that of Peterſburg, which is at the very extremity of the empire, and poſſeſſing few of theſe advantages. Founding that city, and making it the ſeat of foreign commerce and naval power, was an admirable exertion of genius! but the ſeat of government ſhould always have been at Moſcow.

The 23d I left that city, taking the road towards the Ukraine: I was fortunate in having very fine clear weather, and found the roads, every where, exceedingly good, no autumnal rains having yet fallen. I got that night to Molaſky, the diſtance about ſixty miles, nor did I find ſuch a day's journey, too much for the horſes; the country, all this way, is a level plain, very fertile, and much of it well cultivated, with many villages, and, in general, a well peopled territory: the peaſants ſeemed tolerably eaſy, but ſcarcely any of them have any property. From Molaſky, fifty ſix miles carried me the next day to Arcroiſy, a ſmall town, ſituated in a territory not ſo well peopled as the preceding; the villages thinner, and but little of the ſoil cultivated, being covered with much timber of great ſize and beauty. The 25th I reached Demetriovitz, at the diſtance of more than fifty miles, every ſtep of which was acroſs a foreſt, in which I ſaw not the leaſt veſtige of any habitation; the road was not difficult to find,

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even if I had not had a guide, but it is not much frequented; the mercantile people making this part of the journey to the Ukraine by water: This immenſe track of wild country, is part open meadow and part covered with timber, which would in England be thought a glorious ſight: the ſoil is all a fine ſand, and, if I may judge from the ſpontaneous vegetation, a moſt fertile loam; ſo that nothing is wanting, but an induſtrious population: but without that, the whole territory is of little worth. I baited the horſes in the middle of the foreſt, and refreſhed myſelf and company, much admiring the uncommon extent of country, that was without the leaſt appearance of being inhabited: I apprehended, that the country muſt have great reſemblance of the boundleſs plains and woods of Louiſiana.

The 26th, I rode forty miles through an uninhabited plain to Serenſky; no timber in it, but all one level fertile meadow. I ſaw ſome herds of cattle feeding, as if wild, but the land was not a tenth part ſtocked; for the graſs, if we turned out of the road, was up almoſt to the bellies of the horſes; ſuch meadow would, I apprehend, in any part of England, let readily for five and twenty ſhillings an acre, yet here of no value: ſuch are the effects of population, liberty, and induſtry!

The ſame diſtance the 27th carried me to Brenſky a pretty little town on the banks of a river, in the middle of a foreſt; a place, truly romantic. I felt myſelf rather fatigued with hard riding, ſince I left Peterſburg, and therefore reſted myſelf here, the 28th, leſt a continuance of this great exerciſe ſhould give me a fit of illneſs, for which Ruſſia is the moſt unfit place in the world; for every man, out of Peterſburg and Moſcow, muſt be his own phyſician.

The 29th, I got to Staradoff, at the diſtance of fifty miles: full twenty of which, are through a rich and pleaſant country, much of it very well cultivated; they were getting in part of their harveſt: they cultivate all the grain and pulſe, common in England; and from what I ſaw, I have little doubt, but their huſbandry is extremely good. They generally manage their lands in the ſyſtem of ſowing firſt, hemp, then oats, then turneps, then wheat or rye, but much of the former is ſown: after this huſbandry of five years, which is ſometimes varied to ſix or ſeven, two crops of hemp being taken, they leave the land fallow for three four, or five years; by fallow, is not however meant, ploughing it all that time, but letting it run to graſs and weeds: it is preſently covered thickly; the ſecond year, all the weeds

diſappear,

disappear, and they have a very fine meadow, without the trouble of sowing any hay seeds, which they keep, as the feeding ground of their farms for several years, as their cattle require; and whenever they plough it up again, they are sure to find a field, entirely fertilized and ready to yield abundant crops. I should have apprehended, that this management would have filled the land with the seeds of weeds, which, upon breaking it up, would have destroyed their crop; but an agent, that seemed to belong to some man of a large estate, answered me by saying, that the first crop, they sowed, being hemp, entirely cleaned the ground for all the successive ones; that in case the effect was not perfected, a second would infallibly do it; for I found, they had an idea here, that hemp is a great cleaner of the land, and that no weeds can live among it; which is, what I do not recollect, any writer of husbandry mentions, as being the practice of English farmers. It is one instance, among many others, I have met with, in which I regret, not making myself better acquainted with the husbandry of England, before I made enquiries into that of other countries. The quantity of hemp, sown in all this country is very considerable; indeed I was told, that this province, which joins a part of the Ukraine in some

places, is much like that country, only the ſoil not quite ſo fine. The land here is a rich loam, wet, and much inclinable to a clay. They reckon an acre of hemp, one year with another, to be worth three pounds; an acre of wheat yields three quarters, and as much of rye; four quarters of barley, and as much or more of oats. They have fine crops of beans, about five quarters upon an acre. They do not cultivate ſo many turneps as they ſhould, but truſt many of their cattle all winter long on the waſte, where they find herbage enough, notwithſtanding the ſnow, to keep them alive: but it would certainly be much better huſbandry to keep them better, and collect their dung. They have large herds, which in ſummer are kept in fine order, by means of the exceeding good paſturage, which all the meadows yield in vaſt plenty. All this country belongs to different noblemen, and is cultivated by their ſtewards and agents, who ſeem to know their buſineſs very well; but the peaſants ſeem to be very poor, having ſcarcely any ſigns of cultivation around their cottages, and yet they are fed by what they raiſe for themſelves on certain days. I remark, that the peaſants in this empire, are in general happy, in proportion to the neglect under which the country lies; in the midſt of vaſt waſtes and foreſts

reſts they ſeem to be tolerably eaſy; but any tracks well cultivated, are done at their expence, and they appear very near on the ſame rank, as the blacks in our ſugar colonies.

From Staradoff to Czernicheu, is ſeventy-five miles, which I rode in two days, arriving there the 1ſt of November. Part of this track is as well cultivated, as that on the other ſide of Staradoff, but much of it is covered with foreſt. I obſerved hemp in many of the fields, and ſome of it was not yet pulled, though the harveſt is generally in. Czernicheu is a very well built town, finely ſituated on the banks of the river Deſna, which is navigable for barges of fifty tons, is very well fortified, and inhabited by about fifteen thouſand people; many of whom carry on a conſiderable trade with Kiovia, and, by the Nieper, with Poland. All the track of country, which lies upon the river Deſna, is very rich, and well cultivated. Many of the inhabitants of Czernicheu are Coſſack Tartars; but a traveller has no more reaſon to fear them, than the inhabitants of any other part of Ruſſia; for the government, although milder in the Ukraine, and the neighbouring provinces, from having been conquered from Poland, is yet the ſame, and the police as ſtrict

as in any other part of the empire. I made enquiries here concerning the danger of travelling through the Ukraine in this time of war; and they assured me, that whether it was war or peace, I should not see the least appearance of any danger; that I should find the Ukraine, tho' inhabited by Tartars, as well regulated a province, as any county in England. They said, there had been no incursions made into any of these provinces, as the theatre of the war was pushed on to the countries around the Black sea, and where they doubted not but it would continue.

November the 3d, I reached Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine, and fourscore miles from Czernicheu. The road leads on the banks of the Desna, through a beautiful country; great part of it being well peopled and cultivated. It is inhabited by Tartarian descendants; but I found the present Cassocks, who have very little idea of husbandry, come far from the eastward, from countries, that reach to the river Don, at the distance of above a thousand miles from hence. The present race of the Ukraine are a civilized people, and the best husbandmen in the Russian empire.

Kiovia, one of the most considerable cities I have seen in Russia, is a place, well known in the

the hiſtory of that empire; for tho' it has been ſubject to many revolutions, which reduced it to a low ſtate, compared with its former grandeur, yet it has now recovered all thoſe antient blows; it is well built of brick and ſtone: the ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, and well paved; it has a very noble cathedral, much of it lately rebuilt and eleven other churches. It has forty thouſand inhabitants; and is ſtrongly fortified. The Nieper is here a noble river; and ſeveral larger rivers falling into it, after waſhing ſome of the richeſt provinces of Poland, enable this town to carry on a very conſiderable commerce. It is the grand magazine of all the commodities of the Ukraine, particularly hemp and flax, which, in this fine province, are raiſed in greater quantities, and of a better quality, than in any other part of Europe. The Ukraine is the richeſt province in the Ruſſian empire. Part of it formerly was a province of Poland, and the reſt an independent ſovereignty, under a Tartar prince; but the whole is now a mere province of Ruſſia, and much the richeſt acquiſition, that crown has made. It is upon an average, two hundred and fifty miles long, eaſt to weſt; and one hundred and forty broad, north to ſouth.

November

November 5th, I left the capital of this province; and as I purpoſed making a circular detour of the weſtern part, I went to Buda that day, which is about fifty miles; moſt of the country rich and very well cultivated; the ſoil is a black loam, and they raiſe in it the various ſorts of grain and pulſe, that are commonly met with in England. I paſſed through great tracks of ſtubble ground, from off which the wheat, barley, and oats were carried. And I obſerved numerous hemp grounds, though not ſo much of the country is under that crop, as corn; in ſome villages, where I made enquiries, they ſpoke nothing but the Poliſh language, and of a dialect, which my interpreter, the Ruſſian, knew nothing of, though he had aſſured me, he underſtood Poliſh very well; but I met with other peaſants, who ſpoke Ruſſian, and they informed me, that their products of hemp aroſe in value ſometimes to ſix pounds an acre, but three or four pounds were a common crop; of wheat, four quarters; barley, five, and oats and beans ſix, and ſometimes more an acre; which appeared to me to be all very conſiderable quantities. Their grounds are moſt of them incloſed with ditches, to ſome of which are hedges, but not to all. They have fine meadow grounds, which they convert to hemp, in the manner I related above,

bove, but leave them under grafs for ten or twelve years, before they break them up; and keep them in a tillage management, as long: upon fome grounds, they have three crops of hemp running. Flax they alfo cultivate, but they do not reckon it fo profitable as hemp. In the management of their cattle, they are very good farmers: they have large ftocks, and they houfe them all, whenever the fnow is above four inches deep upon the ground; they litter them down well with ftraw, and feed them with hay or turneps: cows are their principal ftock; and they fell immenfe quantities of butter and cheefe, though it is extremely remarkable, that, not many years ago, they knew not what butter was. The property of all this country is very much divided; here are very few great eftates belonging to nobility: the old inhabitants of the country were very free, and had a great equality among them; and this, in poffeffions, as well as other circumftances; and fortunately, this continues, though in fubjection to Ruffia; moft of the peafants are little farmers, whofe farms are their own, with ten times the liberty among them, that I any where elfe faw in Ruffia; the government are extremely cautious of oppreffing or offending them, for they never will be in want of

ſolicitations from the Turks to join the Tartars in alliance with the Porte. They pay a conſiderable tribute, but raiſe it among themſelves according to their own cuſtoms; and they alſo furniſh the Ruſſian armies with a great many very faithful troops. Theſe points, with the immenſe value of the trade the Ruſſians carry on by means of their products, hemp and flax in particular, render the province of the firſt importance. I paſſed, in this line of fifty miles, great numbers of villages and ſcattered farms.

Buda is a little town, or rather a large village, prettily ſituated, between two rivers in a country, perfectly pleaſant. I turned off to the north-weſt, and got the 6th to Kordyne, a little town, fifty two miles from Buda: All this country is equal to the preceding day's journey; I never ſaw a track of land, that had more reſemblance to the beſt parts of England. Nothing could be more fortunate, than the weather for my expedition; the rains uſually come very heavy the middle of September, and ſoon after them, froſts and ſnow, but I have yet had a conſtant azure ſky, with warm winds. If it holds five days more, I ſhall have paſſed this province, and I do not hear, that there is any thing worthy of notice between the Ukraine and Peterſburg, there-

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fore the weather will not be ſo eſſential to the journey. I remarked, in the country I paſſed to day, ſeveral tobacco plantations; they reſemble hop grounds, when the hillocks are not poled; they reckon it as profitable, as hemp, which is owing, I believe, to the ready vent, they find, for all they cultivate; the Tartars upon the Black ſea, and the Kalmucks buy large quantities; and they are not ſo nice in the ſeparation of the ſorts, as our planters in Virginia are obliged to be, though they ſell their product for as good a price; but I do not think there grows the leſs hemp, on account of their tobacco; it ſeems to be cultivated, inſtead of ſowing quite ſo much corn as in other parts; an acre of tobacco is worth five pounds in a good year. They have large houſes, highly run up for drying it. They think, the land cannot be too rich either for hemp or tobacco, and accordingly plant them on freſh land.

The 7th, I reached Leſzozyn, at the diſtance of ſix and thirty miles, the country continuing the ſame; much hemp and tobacco being planted through the whole: At a village, by the way, where I ſtopped to make enquiries, I found they preferred a red clay for their hemp, and planted all the black mould with tobacco. I obſerved many ploughs

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at work, ſome with ſix horſes, of a little weak breed, but in general, each was drawn by four ſtout oxen. They were turning up wheat ſtubbles, and ſaid, they ploughed them before winter, that the froſts and ſnow might improve the ground, which ſeems to be good management. I think, I never ſaw ſuch deep ploughing, as theſe peaſants give their ground: I meaſured nine inches perpendicular after a plough drawn by four oxen; what the depth is in England, I never noticed particularly, but believe it is not ſo much as this. Their ploughs are very well conſtructed; if I may judge by their entirely turning over the land, they are all of iron, having no wood about them; a ſort I had never ſeen till I came into the Ukraine; nor have they any wheels which our ploughwrights in England, think ſo eſſential. I remarked here ſeveral very noble crops of cabbages, and in ſuch vaſt quantities, that I concluded, they muſt feed their cattle with them, and was right in the conjecture: they uſed formerly, to cultivate only the Swediſh turnep for this purpoſe, but cabbages (they are a red ſort, and come to a monſtrous ſize, 25 or 30lb. for inſtance) by degrees, have come into faſhion among them, ſo as to be the crop, on which they entirely depend, with help of hay for the winter ſuſtenance of their cattle. They

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ſow the ſeed early in the ſpring, and plant them when of a proper ſize, into the fields in rows, and afterwards keep them as clean as they do their tobacco, by conſtant hoeing: an acre of them will winter four or five large oxen; they reckon the culture extremely profitable. They have alſo whole fields of potatoes, ſome for their own uſe, and ſome for ſale, there being a great demand for them at Ockzacow, on the Black ſea, whither they are ſent by water; but I cannot help thinking they muſt have a ſort unknown in England: I rode into a field where a crop was taking up, and great numbers were as large, as the body of a quart bottle; I never ſaw ſuch before. They freely gave me a few of theſe large ones to take away for ſeed; they are planted by ſlices in the ſame manner, as ours: the peaſants here think, that lands of moderate fertility do for them. Such a potatoe, I ſhould apprehend, might, for feeding cattle, be made of very great advantage to the huſbandry of England; they yield from twelve to fifteen hundred buſhels per acre.

The 8th, I rode to Kwaſowa, a large village, the diſtance about forty miles. This country is, in ſome places, a continued level plain; in others, it is variegated with gentle hills, which never riſe into moun-

mountains, but are cultivated to the tops. Hemp and tobacco are common crops thro' the whole, and alſo ſome flax, but not in equal quantities. All the country is divided into ſmall eſtates, or rather farms, cultivated by the owners; though I am told, that in ſome parts of the province to the ſouth, where I have not been, there are large eſtates belonging to the nobles, and that thoſe parts are not near ſo well peopled or cultivated, as theſe parts; which is a ſtrong proof, that much of the good huſbandry met with in the Ukraine, is owing to the peaſants, being owners of their lands, and vaſſalage, almoſt unknown in the province. It cannot be doubted, but the Empreſs may bring the crown lands of Ruſſia, on all the frontier of Poland, into as flouriſhing a ſtate, as any parts of this province, if ſhe encourages foreign ſettlers with all the ſpirit, ſhe has hitherto ſhewn, ſince it is in her power to give them all the advantages, which the inhabitants of the Ukraine enjoy. They have, it is true, a noble country, equal, I think, in ſoil, &c. to Flanders, and almoſt as well cultivated; but I have ſeen, in other provinces of this empire, immenſe waſte tracks of land, not at all inferior in every thing, derived from nature; but enſlaved peaſants are utterly inconſiſtent with a flouriſhing huſbandry.

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The 9th I got to Norodiza, the diſtance forty miles: the ſoil, in this track, is inferior to what I have paſſed, but the people appear to be excellent huſbandmen: they have ſome hemp, but little tobacco, only a plantation here and there. I paſſed thro' ſeveral villages which have been lately built by fugitive Poles, who had fixed themſelves here on ſome ſmall waſtes, by leave of the government, but without any expence. The 10th I had a very hard day's journey to Belechoka, the diſtance more than ſixty miles, and the road in ſome places marſhy. Some parts of this track are well cultivated, but no hemp, flax, or tobacco are raiſed; there are alſo ſome waſtes, but they will not be ſuch long, for the Poles are planting themſelves on them very faſt. Here I paſſed out of the province of Ukraine.

It is this territory which raiſes nine tenths of the hemp and flax which we import at ſuch a vaſt expence from Ruſſia; it is therefore deſerving of a little attention; for the beſt politicians, who have given moſt attention to the affairs of our American colonies, have all of them inſiſted very ſtrenuouſly upon the poſſibility, and even eaſe of ſupplying ourſelves totally from thence. What truth there is in this I know not; but it will be of uſe to conſider this province of the Ukraine with

more attention than any writer has hitherto done, becauſe, from knowing it perfectly, we may judge how far we can reaſon by analogy, when America is ſpoken of; and this is the more neceſſary, as the accounts which have hitherto been publiſhed of it are ſtrangely contradictory; for, on one hand, they tell us truly that the Ruſſian hemp comes from thence; but on the other, they give ſuch a picture of the ſtate of the country, that one would ſuppoſe it, poſſeſſed by herds of wandering Coſſacks, which is utterly inconſiſtent with the idea of ſuch a ſtate of agriculture, as is neceſſary for making ſo great a proficiency in the culture of hemp and flax. All theſe accounts muſt have been copied one from another, and the firſt of them, at leaſt, a century and half old. To be convinced of which let any perſon look into the account of the Ukraine, in that very judicious collection of voyages and travels, entitled *Harris*'s, there he will meet with mention, indeed, of the great fertility of the country, but three-fourths of the particulars given are relative to its wandering Tartar inhabitants, and the words hemp or flax, never once uſed; and a deſcription of the people given, that would be utterly inconſiſtent with ſuch agriculture; and this is the caſe with all the books that I have

turned to; but the reaſon muſt be, the country's being ſo extremely out of the way of all travellers, that not a perſon, in a century goes to it, who takes notes of his obſervations with intention to lay them before the world: very few ſuch go even to Peterſburgh; now and then one croſſes Ruſſia towards Perſia, but all keep a thouſand or two of miles from the Ukraine; and hence it is, that the greateſt changes happen in ſuch remote parts of the world, without any thing of the matter being known. And our writers of geography, who are every day publiſhing, copy each other in ſo laviſh a manner, that a fact in 1578 is handed down to us as the only information we can have in 1766; a circumſtance, which reigns in all the books of general geography that I have ſeen. Let me here add, that I have, in travelling to gain information, viſited thoſe countries, about which it would be in vain to conſult books; for, Holland and Flanders alone excepted, all the reſt of the preſent journey is through countries, the former accounts of which are entirely falſe, not from errors in the authors, but from great changes that have happened in a long courſe of years. But to return.

It has been ſuppoſed, that hemp and flax, coming to us from ſo northern a place as Peterſburg,

terſburg, would grow in the midſt of perpetual froſts and ſnows; but though we import it from latitude 60, yet it all grows in the Ukraine, which lies between lat. 47 and 52, and is beſides as fine, mild a climate, as any in Europe: this is the latitude of the ſouth of France; and with theſe advantages the ſoil is ſuperior to moſt I have ſeen, being, in general, a very rich, deep mould, between a loam and a dry clay, but without any of that tenacious ſtickineſs, which is ſo diſagreeable in moving through a clay country in England. I am clear in the importance of conveying a preciſe idea, when we ſpeak of ſoils; but not having been uſed to practical huſbandry ſo much, as I wiſh I had, I cannot properly make uſe of the neceſſary technical terms. To theſe advantages, which this province enjoys, I ſhould certainly add, whether from accident or natural ingenuity, their good huſbandry, which is much ſuperior to any thing, that I have ſeen, ſince I left Flanders.

After giving theſe particulars, we may examine, upon a good foundation, the capability of our colonies, affording hemp and flax in equal quantities. Thoſe gentlemen who have travelled through them, beſt know how well they anſwer to the above deſcription: but if I may be permitted to ſpeak on the authorities which

which many modern relations give us, the ſettlements on the ſea-coaſts of North-America will never yield hemp in any quantities; the climate is much too changeable and ſevere; ſharp cutting froſts are met with in Carolina, in 30 degrees of latitude, and a burning ſun, equal in heat to any part of the world: in New England, Nova Scotia, &c. where hemp has been attempted, it has always failed, from the ſeverity of the climate, and the badneſs of the lands. But all accounts give a very contrary deſcription of the countries on the Miſſiſippi: from the deſcriptions which I have read of the track on that river, from lat. 33 to lat. 40, I ſhould apprehend it to be, of all other places in America, the moſt adapted to this culture: for the ſoil is rich, black, and very deep; the climate much more regular and pleaſant than on the ſea-coaſt, which is all marſhes and ſwamps, and the lands in immenſe plenty, and all freſh. Hemp certainly might be raiſed in thoſe parts to great advantage, provided the deſcriptions of them, which we have had, are juſt; which I do not ſee any reaſon to doubt. But then the misfortune is, that theſe beautiful tracks of country are without inhabitants; and great numbers of people are neceſſary for an advantageous culture of hemp. Another circum-

ſtance to be conſidered is, the profit of ſuch an application of the land: hemp would never be cultivated to any purpoſe in Carolina, or our ſouthern colonies, if the climate was proper, becauſe rice and indico, and I believe, even cotton, pay the planter, much ſuperior profits; and if indico and cotton were introduced on the Miſſiſippi, as, in all probability they would be, hemp would be neglected till thoſe markets failed which took off the more beneficial articles. But, on the other hand, we ought not to regret this, for the national profit is proportionably greater: the more the planter's advantage, the more the national income is increaſed. Hemp, in fact, is not an article of culture, that is comparable to many others in profit, and will conſequently never be cultivated, except in thoſe countries where corn and pulſe, and other leſs profitable articles, would occupy the land, if that did not; but when the ſoil and climate will do for richer commodities, it is idle to ſuppoſe, that poorer ones will be attended to.

If, therefore, it is an eſſential point to raiſe all the hemp in our colonies, which we bring from Ruſſia, new plantations muſt be formed on the Miſſiſippi, in a latitude, that will not do for the rich American ſtables; ſuch for inſtance, as that of 37 to 40, or thereabouts.

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The country, ſo included, is one of the fineſt in the world for all common huſbandry; ſo that the inhabitants, like thoſe of the Ukraine, would very eaſily raiſe all the neceſſaries of life, at the ſame time, that their principal attention was given to hemp as their ſtaple.

CHAP. VI.

Journey to Peterſburg through the Frontiers of Poland—Obſervations on the State of ſeveral Provinces—Ruſſian Acquiſitions—Remarks on the War between the Ruſſians and the Turks—Journey to Archangel, and through Lapland—Return to Peterſburg—Livonia.

NOVEMBER the 11th, I left Belechoka, and rode to Rzeezyka, at the diſtance of forty-four miles through a country very different from the Ukraine; for it conſiſts of little beſides marſhes, with but few inhabitants. It is to be noted, that moſt of this track is in Poland, and Rzeezyka is the capital of a province, once Poliſh, and which, all the maps I have, lay down as a part of Poland; but I am convinced, there have been ſtrange changes wrought by force of Ruſſian arms on the frontiers of that kingdom. The town is large, populous, and

ſtrongly fortified; but as much Ruſſian, as Moſcow. Here are great numbers of Poles, it is true; but all the houſes, which the war had emptied, are filled up carefully with Ruſſian families; and there is a Ruſſian garriſon, Ruſſian government, and, in a word, ſcarcely any thing Poliſh in it. By this extreme political conduct, that empire makes very great acquiſitions on the ſide of Poland, without the world knowing any thing of the matter; which is the effect of the miſerable government, or rather anarchy, under which they live; and which is the pretence for the Ruſſian troops, ſwarming over the whole kingdom; ſo that three parts in four of it are a province of Ruſſia, and probably, the whole will in a little time, which may be more advantageous to the kingdom; for no depotiſm of the Eaſt is ſo great a curſe to a people, as the furious military anarchy, that reigns at preſent in Poland. I have received accounts from various people, ſince I have been in Ruſſia, from which I ſhould apprehend, that full half the inhabitants of that great country, have been cut off and ſtarved within theſe ten years. Near half the kingdom is abſolutely in the hands of the Ruſſians, who receive pretty heavy taxes from it, and alſo recruits for their army againſt the

the Turks: vaſt numbers of people are, by this means, alſo tranſported into Ruſſia; for Poliſh noblemen, who declare againſt the Ruſſian party, are driven entirely from their eſtates, and great numbers of their peaſants removed immediately into Ruſſia, with their cattle and all their effects; ſo that the Empreſs may eaſily have increaſed her ſubjects in the degree, which I was told, at Peterſburg. And it certainly muſt be allowed, that the cards ſhe plays in this manner, enſure her a game uncommonly advantageous. The poor Poles, driven about, and reduced to the utmoſt miſery by their own people, muſt be very ready to fix upon lands in Ruſſia, and be vaſſals only to the Empreſs. If this ſcene of confuſion therefore laſts much longer in Poland, that kingdom will be entirely depopulated, and the Ruſſian provinces filled with people; an event, ſilently taking place, and which will increaſe this formidable power more, than half a dozen victories over the Turks.

From Rzeezyka, I followed the courſe of the Nieper to Rohakzow, where I arrived the 12th; the diſtance more than fifty miles. The country is an open level plain, of fine meadow. I ſaw numerous villages deſerted; and the fields, formerly arable, become paſ-

ture,

ture, but without cattle to graze them: all the inhabitants were moved into Ruſſia. That town is the capital of a large province, the whole of which is in the hands of the Ruſſians, who have three ſtrong fortreſſes in it, well garriſoned. Rohakzow is a fine town, beautifully ſituated on the Nieper, on which its preſent maſters carry on a conſiderable commerce. I much ſuſpect, from the fortifications raiſed here by the Ruſſians, whether the town or province will ever be more in the hands of the Poles. I was informed here, that much the greateſt part of the province of Minſki, one of the moſt conſiderable in Lithuania, is entirely quiet, and in the abſolute power of the Ruſſians; and where it will end, time can only know; but the preſent ſtate of affairs in all this part of the world, looks on every ſide, only in favour of the Ruſſians; and it is certainly a moſt ſtrange infatuation, that the other powers of Europe ſhould be mere ſtanders-by, and look on to this great ſucceſs of the Ruſſians, without thinking it their intereſt to interfere. Auſtria and Pruſſia are armed, it is true; but the progreſs of this empire is of a kind, which admits not open declaration from any, but the Poles. I have heard it mentioned, as a mark of very ſagacious politicks in the Turks, that the real reaſon

reaſon of the preſent war with Ruſſia is from a jealouſy of the Muſcovite power, being too much increaſed by the advantages taken of the troubles in Poland. The Porte thought there was danger of the Empreſs taking poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of Poland in her own name; and judged that the beſt way of preventing ſuch a great acceſsion to her power, was by the ſword, cutting her out work elſewhere.

From Rohakzow, I reached Rychow, the 13th, the diſtance more than forty miles. All this country is very rich, and part of it very well cultivated, but it is in the hands of the Ruſsians entirely; many of the peaſants are of that nation, and every thing ſeen, is a proof, that this empire has much enlarged its bounds, without either a formal war, or even the authority of a treaty. This place is in the province of Miſlau, a very fine and fertile country, an hundred miles long, and as many broad, and all in the hands of the Ruſſians. The ſoil here is chiefly a reddiſh loam; much of it is in culture, as was evident, from the large tracks of ſtubble I went through; but I ſaw no hemp, flax, or tobacco, thoſe products being pretty much confined to the Ukraine. Rychow, with ſome neighbouring towns, belong to a Poliſh nobleman, driven away by the

the Ruſſians, who have ſeized his whole eſtate and taken poſſeſſion of it in a manner, that precludes the idea of his ever returning. From this place, I rode about forty miles to Kudzin, through the ſame province. All this line of country, I could ſee, had been in general under culture, but it was now entirely waſte. I counted the remains of no leſs than ſeven villages, which were entirely deſerted, all the inhabitants being fled to Ruſſia. From Kudzin, the ſame diſtance brought me on the 15th, to Krula, another little town, with a Ruſſian garriſon. The country is partly cultivated, and partly deſerted; but the remaining inhabitants will not be left here long; for I ſaw a Ruſſian commandant, whoſe buſineſs was, the taking an account of the people of ſeveral adjacent villages that had petitioned for lands in Ruſsia. Theſe emigrations are not at all ſurpriſing: in time of peace, the Poliſh nobles treat all the peaſants as ſlaves in the utmoſt extent of the word: when, therefore, a ſcene of trouble and confuſion comes, they are ſure to take the firſt opportunity to deſert, that they may eſcape in future the renewal of their former miſery; and the condition of the new ſettlers in Ruſsia is ſo infinitely ſuperior to that of the peaſants in Poland, that nothing can exceed the eagerneſs

neſs with which they all fly from the ſcene of their ſlavery the moment their maſters are driven away. Theſe are the effects of that tyranny, which all the Poliſh nobility exert upon their vaſſals; ſo that in caſe the Ruſſians ſhould reſtore theſe numerous provinces, the Poles will return to deſerts, inſtead of well-peopled eſtates.

The 16th, I got to Obloka; the diſtance forty-ſix miles; ſtill in the province of Miſlau. All this track is a fine rich country, but very poorly peopled, many villages being deſerted. I paſſed a very large ſeat, belonging to a Poliſh nobleman, in ruins. Whoever declares againſt the Ruſſian party, are ſure to have their eſtates laid waſte, and many of their peaſants carried off; and in the provinces which lie near to the frontiers of that empire, they are driven away, and every thing ſeized by the enemy. There are not many finer countries, than great part of this province, but it is in a deſolate ſtate. I have met with no parties of Poles, nor any appearance of war: the Empreſs has a quiet and effectual poſſeſſion of much the greater part of Lithuania; and ſuch parts are the only ones in the kingdom that enjoy any repoſe.

The 17th I reached Witepſki, the capital town of a large province, alſo in the hands of the

the Ruſſians. The country is very woody. In fifty miles, which were this day's journey, near thirty were through a continual foreſt; the reſt is tolerably well cultivated, and peopled; it is in poſſeſſion of ſome Poles, who ſecured themſelves from the beginning by declaring for the Ruſſian cauſe. They cultivate their own eſtates by means of their vaſſals, who have ſmall cottages, with little plots of ground round them, in which they raiſe what is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of themſelves and their families in three days of the week, which are allowed them, and the reſt of the time they work for their lord, under the direction of overſeers. One of theſe noblemen cultivates in this manner above ſix thouſand acres of land; his eſtate contains about twenty thouſand acres, but much of it is marſh and foreſt. This is a repreſentation of all the eſtates in Poland in time of peace. The owners of them, however ſmall, are all Poliſh gentlemen, and entirely equal; but the numerous diſtractions they have had from the beginning of their monarchy, have conſolidated moſt of the ſmall properties, ſo that at preſent the kingdom is generally divided into large eſtates. Every owner cultivates his land by means of the peaſants on it, who belong to him as much as the trees which

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grow on the ſoil; thus the Poles are the greateſt farmers in the world, for ſome of their princes poſſeſs whole provinces, containing ſeveral hundred thouſand acres of land; and all their revenue, which is very conſiderable, is raiſed by this cultivation. The principle value of eſtates is the vicinity to a navigable river; for without this advantage they have not a vent for the immenſe quantity of corn which they raiſe. The ſtubbles I ſaw upon the eſtate, juſt now mentioned, were of all the common ſorts, and very extenſive, wheat, barley, oats, peaſe, beans, buck-wheat. I ſaw a few turneps, but the quantity did not ſeem to be any thing proportioned to the extent of corn.

In the night of the 17th the weather changed, which had hitherto favoured me ſo remarkably; very heavy rains fell with ſleet and ſnow, and continued ſo bad the next day, that I ſtaid at Witepſki that day and the two following ones, in expectation of a froſt ſetting in; for they told me, I ſhould find the roads much worſe and more liable to be damaged than thoſe I had paſſed. I ſtaid till the 20th, a very ſharp froſt having ſet in for four and twenty hours. The 21ſt I reached Goreſlaw, through fifty miles of foreſt; the 22d I got to Siteſki, the diſtance forty-three miles; the ground hard frozen and very good travelling,

velling, but the froſt continues and the weather is ſharp; this line of country, like the laſt, is foreſt. The 23d, I reached Williſluki, which is in the boundary of Ruſſia; but going from one country to the other makes no perceptible difference in the people, manners, or language; which is a circumſtance, that threatens the Poles not a little. I paſſed through another country of emigrants from that kingdom, who are ſeated on an eſtate of the Empreſs's, which came to her not long ſince by forfeiture; it contains about four and twenty thouſand acres of land, and did not yield the late owner more than ſeven hundred pounds a year; but the Czarina will preſently make it twice as many thouſands, for there is the fineſt timber for maſts on it that is to be found in all the country; and ſhe is making a ſmall ſtream, that leads to the Iwanna, navigable; the expence will be but little, and ſhe will carry her timber then to Peterſburg by water, which will prove a moſt important acquiſition. The Poliſh ſettlement contains three hundred and forty farms, each a family; they had exactly the ſame terms, as thoſe I gave an account of before. They are ſeated in a plain, thinly ſcattered with trees, which they have cleared away: the ſoil, I was informed, for I could not

not see it, is very deep and rich: they have each fifty acres divided by the Empress; and they have made many interior divisions. I was told that in Poland there are scarcely any inclosures, but the Empress takes care, that all the newly cultivated tracks in her dominions shall be inclosed, being informed, that they were the principal causes, which have so much advanced the husbandry of England; and it is remarkable, that the Poles fall very readily into it, and divide their fifty acres into several fields, as if they perfectly well understood the importance of the conduct. They cultivate wheat, rye, oats, pease, beans, and buckwheat; and have many crops of Swedish turneps for the winter support of their cattle: they get two quarters of wheat and rye from an acre, but sometimes less; three of oats; and four of beans: and they reckon, that an acre of turneps will winter two cows. The cutting a canal for the conveyance of the timber to Petersburg, will be of prodigious advantage to this colony; for their products will find the same way to a most advantageous market. All these people are perfectly happy and contented; they are not deceived; on the contrary, they find their situation to the full as good as they were made to expect; and

they all ſpeak of the Empreſs in the higheſt terms of admiration and gratitude.

This ſyſtem of peopling her dominions is certainly the greateſt exertion of politicks that ſhe could poſſibly have ſhewn: other princes have been willing to increaſe the number of their ſubjects, by affording a refuge to emigrants in their dominions, but nothing elſe; whereas the Empreſs is at a conſiderable expence in planting them in her's; ſhe ſpares no coſt to make the number as great as poſſible; although, from the cheapneſs of the country, it is done, comparatively ſpeaking, at a ſmall expence, yet when ſuch numbers, as ſhe has thus received and ſettled, are taken into the account, the ſum of money, annually expended in this truly noble way, will be found by no means ſmall.

The 24th, I reached Opolzko, the diſtance above forty miles; part of the country is foreſt, and part of it a level plain, or extended meadow, which did not ſeem to be marſhy. I paſſed ſeveral villages, which ſeemed well peopled; and much of the country is tolerably cultivated. Opolzko is a fortified town, and ſtands in the middle of a ſmall foreſt, on a very pretty river; it is not large, but well built, conſidering it is in Ruſſia, where ſcarcely any thing is ever uſed but timber, of

of which there is great plenty all over the empire. The 25th it ſnowed inceſſantly, and ſo hard, that I was forced to ſtop till the 27th, before I could proceed on my journey; that is, till the ſnow, which laid thick on the ground, was frozen; and then I was provided with ſledges, which are a very eaſy, expeditious, and agreeable way of travelling; and pleaſed me ſo exceedingly, that I wiſhed for a longer journey on the ſnow than I now had to travel; the cold was not ſo penetrating as I expected to find it.

From Opolzko to Peterſburg is two hundred and ſeventy miles, which I travelled in four days with great eaſe. And here ends this route through the weſtern provinces of this great empire, which are the fineſt and moſt populous in it; for tho' I have been informed, that Siberia, and other immenſe regions to the eaſt, conſiſt of as fertile a ſoil as any in the world, and ſome parts of them ſeated in as mild a climate, yet the near neighbourhood of the roving Tartars, in the ſouthern and fineſt tracks, renders them almoſt continued deſarts: Ruſſia, it is true, has conquered many of them ſo completely, that they are not only tributary, but alſo entirely unable to exert themſelves againſt the empire, nationally ſpeaking; but with individuals the

eaſe is different, and thoſe provinces could not be ſettled without theſe Tartar neighbours being driven entirely away, or extirpated: ſo that the weſtern provinces, which are near to trade, and to the ſeat of government, are thoſe of much the greateſt importance: through theſe I have travelled above two thouſand miles, ſo that I am able to form a pretty accurate general idea of the country.

It appears, upon the whole, to be much better peopled than I expected to find it. It is true, there are many foreſts, in which you may travel a whole day without ſeeing any habitations; and in other parts of the empire to a much greater extent; but we are not to look in Ruſſia for the population of the moſt weſtern countries of Europe; if ſuch was to be found, this empire, which is of a much greater extent than that of the Romans, would be as powerful alſo; but the common ideas of this country, being all a deſart, are carried too far: It is very badly peopled, taking the whole together; but many of the provinces, through which I paſſed, are very populous: the towns are conſiderable, and the villages very thick; much of the territory in a good ſtate of culture; and the appearance of it, in many parts, flouriſhing: to this may be added the great increaſe of people, conſtantly gaining, by

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the reception and encouragement given to foreigners to ſettle, who flock hither in whole troops: I ſhall not aſſert, that Ruſſia is a populous, well cultivated country; all I ſay is, that there are more parts of it ſo, than I had reaſon to expect from the accounts I had received, and the books I had read: the latter indeed muſt neceſſarily be far from the preſent truth in moſt particulars, from the changes that are conſtantly making, and from the improvements of all kinds, which the preſent Empreſs ſo nobly patronizes: and I may venture to predict, that if ſhe enjoys a long life, ſhe will change the face of the whole dominion; all the weſtern provinces will be fully peopled: wherever the ſoil is fit for cultivation, the crown lands will be brought to yield a very great revenue, and general improvement ſpread around.

Upon my arrival at Peterſburg I hired my old lodgings, which had been empty ſince I left them: I was not determined what courſe to take, buſineſs wanted me much in England, for I had received letters from three tenants in Northamptonſhire, complaining of my agent; and counter ones from my agent, complaining of my tenants; in which caſe, nothing is effectual but a landlord's preſence; on the contrary, the ſeaſon was ſo advanced, that it was impoſſible to go by ſea; and journeys, in the

depth of winter, are to me extremely disagreeable, and the more so, since habit had made me attentive to the state of all the countries I passed through, and inquisitive in examining the agriculture of them, which is very badly performed in the midst of snows: this made me think of spending the winter at Petersburg, and taking my way home in the spring, either through Poland and Germany, or by the way of Turkey to the Adriatic, and so to Italy; but not relishing the idea of a winter, in latitude 60, I did not determine.

In this suspence I spent a fortnight, which time I passed very agreeably, by means of a more extended acquaintance than I had made before; and I was particularly happy in Mr. Mason's arrival at Petersburg, who had travelled quite across Poland from Vienna; he designed to take advantage of the snow, to travel through Siberia, a design I much dissuaded him from: however, he determined on resting himself a month at Petersburg; and my being so fortunate as to have much of this gentleman's company at my quarters, made the time and the season pass away very agreeably: we conversed together upon the mutual subject of our travels, which proved to me a fund of inexhaustible pleasure; for Mr. Mason, besides crossing Poland, had been all over Germany;

Germany; through part of Hungary; over Italy, France and Spain. He had been long upon this tour, and has contracted such a habit of moving about, that I believe he will not settle again, till he has travelled all the world over. Last winter he spent on the coast of Africa, and he has determined, for the sake of seeing the surprizing change, to pass this, in the ice and snows of the north. This, it must be confessed, is seeing and becoming acquainted with human nature in every form, and with all the customs of the world; and to a person, who has an inclination for such a way of life, which is strong in my friend Mr. Mason, it is pursuing the inclination effectually.

A person who lives genteely at Petersburg, especially if he be a foreigner, is sure to get easily into the best company in the court; I had not been six weeks settled in my winter habitation before I had more company than I cared for; but it was not difficult to select from among them some whose conversation was equally agreeable and instructive. And I never spent my time in a manner, that was more to my inclination, than in the company of Mr. Mason, M. de Reversholt, a general officer in the Russian service, a native of Saxony; the baron Minchewse, a Russian

nobleman, and the Count de Selliern, a nobleman ſettled in Ruſſia, but of Poliſh extraction. Theſe men are perfectly well acquainted with the languages, courts, and armies of the principal nations in Europe. They have all travelled; are learned, polite, and of moſt liberal ideas. For two months we took it by turns to have a dinner and ſupper provided at our quarters, where all the reſt aſſembled, and ſpent the beſt part of the day and evening: the circle was ſometimes enlarged, by ſome of us bringing a friend, which was chiefly three noblemen ſettled at Peterſburg, who introduced ſeveral Ruſſian and other foreign officers, who had ſeen much ſervice, and were polite and underſtanding perſons. In this company I had the ſatisfaction of having much converſation upon ſeveral ſubjects of conſequence, in which I was deſirous of gaining further intelligence; particularly, concerning the ſtate of the diſtant provinces of the empire, the views of the court upon the Black ſea, and the preſent condition of the Turkiſh forces.

M. de Reverſholt, who had been in the laſt campaign againſt the Ottomans, gave me the following particulars of the Turks, which I think may be agreeable to the reader:—He obſerved, "that if ever the Ruſſian empire

empire engaged in a war with a certainty of ſucceſs, it is in the preſent; for the Turkiſh army is perfectly enervated with peace; ten quiet years doing more miſchief to it in this reſpect, than forty to any other army in Europe: the Janiſſaries have the abſolute command of the empire; and their luxury and riot, in a time of peace, is ſuch, being almoſt without diſcipline, that they reduce themſelves to a level with the worſt forces in the Turkiſh army. That, beſides this evil, another of a yet worſe tendency is, the equality of the Grand Seignor's revenue: money in Turkey is of the ſame cheapneſs as in all other countries of Europe, but the taxes of the empire continue always the ſame; ſo that the Turkiſh monarch, although he has now the ſame revenue as his predeceſſors, ſtill is beyond compariſon a much poorer prince. Many authors have given ſtrange accounts about the Turkiſh policy in ſqueezing the baſhas, and by that means raiſing a regular revenue; but he obſerved, that it is a great miſtake to think this any equivalent for the decline in the value of money; that now and then the Grand Seignor fleeces a baſha, and gets a conſiderable ſum, but in no reſpect to be named with any regular revenue; that the forfeiture of eſtates in Chriſtian countries might almoſt as well be

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ſet down for a revenue, as this of the Turks. He remarked, that the effects, which were within the power of curious perſons to become informed of, ſhewed, that the revenue of the Turkiſh empire was ſmaller than in former times: one ſtrong inſtance was, the number of their troops being leſs, and this, by ſo conſiderable a number, as ſixty thouſand men. It is aſſerted, as a fact, that the Grand Seignor cannot bring into the field ſo many men, as the Ottoman armies conſiſted of forty years ago, by ſixty thouſand. Their artillery, while great improvements have been made through all the reſt of Europe, has declined conſiderably; it does not conſiſt of ſo many pieces as formerly, nor are the magazines of ammunition ſo well ſupplied. That in addition to this evil, the richeſt province of his empire, which is Egypt, is in a ſtate of little leſs than rebellion; and the war with Ruſſia bears ſo heavy on them, that they dare not call for a categorical declaration, almoſt knowing, that it would denounce nothing but war.

In oppoſition to this picture he enlarged upon the ſtate of Ruſſia, which, inſtead of being a declining, is really a riſing power; that the Empreſs's army never was in ſo good order, nor ſo numerous as at preſent; that the

the troops were veterans, and not such as had, in a hot and luxurious climate, slept away their time in peace, but fresh from a vigorous service; men who scarcely knew what peace was. The success, continued he, which we have already had, shews, that there is a great difference in the principle of this war, from any former one between the two empires. It was the business of two or three campaigns to prepare for the war, and gain a situation from which the enemy might be attacked. Our armies fought to infinite disadvantage; they had an immense march across deserts to make, in order to get at the enemy; and, after a campaign, as long a march back to get at winter quarters: but now the scene has been changed; the northern shore of the Euxine is gained; conquests made in Moldavia, and other Turkish provinces; so that the war is pushed at once into the enemy's country, and winter quarters gained there, which is precisely the thing that was always wanting before; and therefore the possession of it at present can hardly fail of being attended with the most fortunate consequences. I think it would be no extravagance to predict the fall of the Turkish empire being not very far off."

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The Count de Minchewſe was of a different opinion from M. de Reverſholt in ſeveral converſations on this ſubject; and the arguments he uſed were to the following purport: ——" I cannot contradict, ſaid that nobleman, the fact of our arms having a better proſpect of ſucceſs in this war, than in any former one; but there are two circumſtances, which appear to me ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent any ſuch brilliant ſucceſs as my friend mentions. Firſt, by beating the Turks, and carrying on two or three campaigns, their army will be daily improved, while no ſucceſs can make ours better than when they began the war. In every war, which the Ottoman empire or the Houſe of Auſtria have carried on againſt us, they have improved in the ſucceſs of their arms from the continuance of the war; their raw, undiſciplined troops become veterans, and order and courage introduced among them from experience. This circumſtance makes a long and protracted war dangerous in itſelf, or at leaſt more favourable to the enemy than it can be to us. The revenues alſo of the two empires, though there is much truth in what has been aſſerted, ſtill will not bear a compariſon relative to the conduct of a war. The Grand Seignor can certainly ſupport great expences longer than the

the Empreſs; and what is of much greater conſequence, his ſituation will ever make one ruble go as far as our five; for the Black ſea keeps open a conſtant navigation for ſupporting their armies directly from their grand magazine, Conſtantinople; and which will always be of great ſervice, though a Ruſſian fleet was upon that ſea; but if they were deprived of that advantage, yet there is no compariſon between the eaſe of recruiting the Turkiſh armies with the beſt troops from their provinces immediately at their backs, and the immenſe diſtance which every thing from Ruſſia has to go before it can arrive at our army; and this, I think, is almoſt ſufficient to prevent any very important ſucceſs. All theſe points can hardly fail of making a protracted war more fatal to us, by the greatneſs of the expence, than it can be to the Turks. As to making a very bold puſh to finiſh the war in two or three campaigns, by aiming ſpeedily at Conſtantinople, there are too many dangers in the plan to think that any commander would hazard it. From the two great frontier fortreſſes, Ockzakow and Bender, there are near four hundred miles to Conſtantinople. The Danube, with its ſix mouths, and vaſt marſhes, beſides a great line of fortreſſes, all lie in the way; and after that,

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near three hundred miles of a very defenſible country. Such a march muſt, in the nature of the propoſition, leave all the provinces to the weſt of Moldavia and Wallachia behind; ſo that nothing would be eaſier than a Turkiſh army to be collected in thoſe provinces, and to cut off the communication and retreat of the grand army: in ſuch a ſituation, it would be almoſt impoſſible for it to eſcape ruin. The Turks would have nothing to do but to deſtroy the country, harraſs its march, and diſpute every inch of land, and every poſt, ſtill avoiding a general engagement: the leaſt error in the Ruſſian general would be deſtruction, and nothing but continued and ſignal victories could be crowned with ſucceſs. In ſuch a ſituation, I am not clear that the taking Conſtantinople would be deciſive. But the war could never be carried on upon this plan; none is feaſible but making abſolutely ſure of all the country as you advance; to leave nothing behind you unconquered, or unpoſſeſſed; but to advance ſlowly, campaign after campaign. If ever we are able to make any impreſſion of conſequence upon the empire of the Ottomans, it muſt certainly be in this method."

This diſcourſe, I thought, carried with it great marks of knowledge, and a very attentive

tive eye to the chances of the preſent war with the Turks; and I muſt again repeat, what I obſerved upon another occaſion, that whenever a perſon, who minutes the obſervations he has made in his travels, has the ſatisfaction of meeting with perſons thus capable of yielding inſtruction, it may be as uſeful to take notes of their opinions as of his own; and accordingly I have ſeldom failed doing it. Upon reviſion, I am inclined to own, that ſuch parts of my memorandums have greater value than I ſhould have been able to have given them. I aſked the baron, if he did not think that events of great importance might attend a victorious Ruſſian fleet in the Euxine? He replied, I do not ſee that events, ſuch as we have been ſpeaking of, can ever ariſe from it, except in one caſe; and the poſſibility or probability of that muſt depend on circumſtances, of which we are all ignorant till they are tried. In making a conqueſt of the Crim, or of the provinces to the north of the Danube, and to awe and curb the Tartars in the Turkiſh alliance; in all theſe caſes, a victorious fleet would be of infinite importance, and give advantages to our arms, which no other circumſtances could. But I do not apprehend it poſſible for any fleet to force its way through the Streights, and attack Conſtantinople

ſtantinople by water. But if the fleet on the Black ſea was numerous enough to take on board the whole Ruſſian army, with all its camp, baggage, artillery, proviſions, &c. I know not, whether it would not be poſſible to land them within two or three days march of Conſtantinople; nay, in caſe the coaſt is favourable to diſembarking, in one day's march. In this caſe, the expedition would not be in the abſolute danger of miſcarrying from a march of four hundred miles, with a certainty of the retreat being cut off, but the event thrown at once on that of a battle, in a ſituation where a victory, ſupported and maintained by ſuch a fleet, would probably overthrow the empire; for there is a wide difference between gaining ſuch a victory freſh from the ſhips, and ſo ſupported, and the ſame ſucceſs without any ſupport, and after the repeated and certain loſſes of a long and deſperate march. But to ſuch a ſcheme there would be many objections, though not ſo ſtrong as to the other: the greateſt would be the difficulty of procuring, manning, and ſupporting ſuch a fleet, as would be neceſſary to make the conduct at all ſecure; and this is ſo great, that it would never be poſſible to effect, in conſequence of events that fell out after a war began; for many years would be neceſ-

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sary for the mere building such a fleet, and great treasures must be expended in it. It could never therefore be executed without the idea being conceived in a time of peace, and the fleet built in consequence, and ready for use, with skilful mariners and pilots ready at the breaking out of the war: which state of the case supposes the Empress to be in possession of all the north coast of that sea, and to have the free navigation of it; for without both, it would be impossible to think of the execution of such a plan. Thus you see, what long preparation must in any case be necessary to form a consistent plan for attacking Constantinople; and yet I am persuaded, that this is the only plan that can ever prove successful. First, there must be a war, and a successful one; for such must be that which gives possession of Little Tartary and the Crim to the Empress. After this war, no time should be lost in raising a naval force upon the Black sea, superior to any thing the Turks can fit out. Thirdly, that sea must be most minutely navigated, that every ship may have a pilot, who knows the rocks, banks, currents, &c. And lastly, a succeeding war must happen so successful, as to put us in possession of the provinces north of the Danube; for even by sea it might be

fatal to make the attempt, with a ſtrong enemy left behind ſo near as Ockzakow, Bender, or any places in that country.—When all theſe previous ſteps were taken, and had proved ſucceſsful, then I ſhould ſuppoſe the attempt might be made, and with a probability of ſucceſs. I do not ſpeak of the practicability of landing on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of the Euxine, becauſe I have been often told, that it is all a very ſafe coaſt, and proper for landing on."

The whole month of December, and the beginning of January 1770, we ſpent in our mutual viſits at Peterſburg; and I may ſay with great truth, and without paying the other members a compliment, that I never paſſed any time more agreeably: now and then Mr. Maſon and myſelf appeared at court, which is neceſſary here; and the Empreſs learning that we were great travellers, entered more than once into converſation with us; and enquired into our opinions of ſeveral objects we had viewed. She is reſerved in the manner of her ſpeech, but has a noble open countenance, and a becoming greatneſs in her air and carriage. There is nothing lively or pleaſing at court, the whole being but a dull, tho' a fine ſcene. It is certain, that the great wiſdom, which has hitherto appeared

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in all the actions and councils of the princeſs, flows from her own perſonal genius and abilities: I have not learned that ſhe has any miniſters, whoſe diſtinguiſhed parts would give one any reaſon to ſuppoſe the ſucceſs owing to them; beſides, it is well known here, that the Empreſs is very determinate in her opinion. She aſks and hears the advice of her council upon important affairs; but ſhe generally follows her own opinion, which is evident from her acting directly contrary to the opinion of the whole, in two or three affairs of conſequence; and in which the ſucceſs that followed proved clearly, that her own judgment was better than that of all her miniſters. She is remarkable for being exceeding quick in all her deciſions; ſhe never acts from long and repeated conſideration, but determines almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and executes with equal celerity. Such a diſpoſition is certainly fitter for the conduct of great affairs, than one in which more caution and a greater degree of prudence appeared; for nothing is ſo fatal in the government of an empire, as inconſtancy and irreſolution. He who conſiders long before he determines, muſt infallibly miſs many opportunities, which, to more active minds, are ſeized the inſtant they appear.

The laſt week in January Mr. Maſon informed me, that he had determined on an excurſion into Siberia on the ſnow, and attempted to perſuade me to accompany him; I did not like the ſcheme, as it muſt prove a long and tedious journey; and in my turn, I propoſed an excurſion wherever he pleaſed for a month, which would give us both an opportunity of ſeeing the nature of this travelling; we converſed often upon this ſubject before we could decide; as we preſently determined to break the length of the winter by ſome excurſion of this ſort. I expatiated to him upon the drearineſs of ſo long a journey upon the ſnow, and offered to accompany him to Iſpahan in Perſia; which was moving into a warm climate, inſtead of freezing on the ſnows of the north; beſides, ſuch a plan would ſhew us a country highly worthy of our attention, and introduce us into quite a new ſcene. He objected to taking ſuch a journey in the depth of winter, aſſerting, and truly, that to have it agreeable it ſhould be made in the ſpring. At laſt he came into the ſcheme of a ſhort excurſion; and that we might have the ſnow in perfection, he determined to point full north, and viſit Archangel, and the coaſt of the White ſea.

All

All this journey was more a ſcheme of amuſement than obſervation; and as it was performed while the ground was covered ſeveral feet deep with frozen ſnow, it afforded very little matter that is worthy of regiſtering in this journal. We croſſed the lake of Ladoga upon the ice and ſnow to Oloucky, thence croſs the lake Onega to Cargapol, and from thence through a great foreſt to Archangel. The diſtance is about three hundred miles, which took us only five days; we ſtopped for lodgings at the towns we paſſed; and the ſcenery of the country, which exhibited a world of ſnow in every phantaſtic form that can be imagined, was a ſource of perpetual amuſement. The weather was very ſevere; but it is incredible how warm a compleat ſuit of fur, well ſurrounded with cloaks of the ſame, keeps one; I believe I could have ſlept all night upon the ſnow, and full in the keeneſt wind, without any other covering than my furs; but travelling in cold countries has made me hardy: Mr. Maſon often complained, when I felt not the leaſt inconvenience. The ſmooth and immenſe plain formed on the two lakes is an object amazingly ſtriking; and the vaſt foreſts, riſing out of the ſnow in ſome places, and in others covered with it, exhibited ſcenes infinitely mag-

nificent. I had many opportunities of ſeeing the winter life of the peaſants, the inhabitants of lonely cottages in the midſt of theſe unbounded ſnowy regions. They lay in a ſtore for winter of ſalted meat indiſcriminately, of whatever ſort they have; alſo a quantity of rye, barley, peaſe, or meal; and they lay up likewiſe a conſiderable portion of dried fiſh, which they cure in the ſmoak of their cabbins: this winter ſtock, with the fowls and accidental beaſts they kill in ranging the foreſts, ſupply them tolerably well. They cloath themſelves very warm in the ſkins of ordinary ſorts of beaſts, that hardly deſerve the name of furs: and the plenty of wood, every where to be found, makes firing ſo cheap an article to them, that their winter lives are, I imagine, much more comfortable than their ſummer ones; for their lords have not ſo much work for them to perform, ſo that more of their time is their own; the greateſt regale that can be given them, is that of a dram; and we have often found, that they would, in any little contract, perform much more than they agree to, if a dram is added. This in ſo cold a country, and where the articles of luxury among the poor are ſo extremely limited, is not to be wondered at.

Archangel

Archangel is a ſmall town, almoſt on the mouth of the Dwina, which river is very broad and deep, and forms an excellent harbour. It contains about five thouſand inhabitants, but the number once was near thirty thouſand, when it was the great ſtaple of all the trade which the Engliſh and Dutch carried on with Ruſſia, before Peter the Great founded Peterſburg. It is worthy of obſervation, that from that port there was a conſiderable export of Ruſſian commodities, particularly naval ſtores and furs, before that great commerce was in being, which has ſince aroſe at Peterſburg. In thoſe days, it was not an uncommon thing to ſee three or four hundred ſail of ſhips at a time in this harbour, but now very few reſort there: It is a poor place; the buildings containing nothing that is at all worthy of notice: They have a cathedral, and an archbiſhop of the Greek church; but every thing looks much on the decline.

To avoid returning to Peterſburg by the ſame road we had come, Mr. Maſon propoſed our croſſing the White ſea on the ice, and taking a ſmall compaſs through Lapland, and turning ſouthwards, round that ſea, down to the lake Ladoga, and ſo home to Peterſburg: this plan I readily agreed to, and accordingly we executed it. From the promontory of

Catſnoze, acroſs to Parſiga in Lapland, is about ſeven and thirty miles, which we paſſed in leſs than a day, though not without ſome danger. From thence we went to Pohina, then to Kola, almoſt on the north ſea, and turning ſouth to Keretta, paſſed out of Lapland from Kovoda into Carelia, having travelled near five hundred miles through Muſcovite Lapland. I expected to find nine tenths of the country a deſart, but it is not ſo; on the contrary, there are ſeveral little towns, and among thoſe on the coaſt there is a ſmall trade divided: a ſhip on a coaſting voyage, now and then, comes in ſummer, to purchaſe furs with ſuch commodities as are more in requeſt among the Laplanders. There is very little cultivation among them; but they have large orchards, which furniſh them with an ordinary ſort of apple: what corn they ſow is chiefly rye, and a little barley; and this is a new thing, for formerly they lived entirely upon hunting and fiſhing, which are at preſent their principal dependance: they dry both fleſh and fiſh for winter proviſion, and ſeem not much to regard the ſeverities of the climate. I do not enter into any particular deſcription of them, or their manners, becauſe I find, that the accounts which I have read are very juſt. The face of the country,

from

from what could be seen of it in this season, cannot be disagreeable; it consists of many open plains, gentle hills, and woods; some of which are open groves, having no underwood in them. This province pays the Empress but one tax, which is a certain tribute of furs; the amount of which is considerable. The rental of the estates, which are situated in it, is paid entirely in furs and skins, for which the peasants have liberty to cultivate whatever land they want, and also to hunt and fish on all the estates. In such a country it may be supposed, that large tracks of land yield but very small returns; I was assured afterwards by a gentleman at Peterburg, that he has a track of sixty miles long, by four and twenty broad in some places, and the income of it was not four hundred pounds a year neat at Peterburgh.

Upon our return to that city we renewed our former society, in order to pass the rest of the winter in as agreeable a manner as possible; a purpose, which I found was fortunately answered, and made me often reflect with pleasure on my determining to winter here. But I believe much, in such cases, is to be attributed to one's determining beforehand to make the best of all those inconveniencies, which may be occasioned by difference of climate or season.

ſeaſon. In the depth of winter the inhabitants of Ruſſia keep chiefly within doors; the ſociety of the fire-ſide is then the only refuge from the inclemency of the weather; this naturally begets a more ſociable temper and a greater willingneſs to be pleaſed than if all common objects divided the attention, and occupied one's hopes and fears. Whether this is or is not a rational account of the matter, I have, however, often experienced the caſe; and tho' my acquaintance this winter at Peterſburg wanted no circumſtances to ſet them off, yet I think I enjoyed their converſation more, than if it had been in the midſt of the mildneſs of the winter in Andaluſia.

The count de Selliern informed us about the middle of March, that he ſhould, very early in the ſpring, repair by the Empreſs's order to Azoph, to make the campaign which was meditated againſt the Turks in Georgia; and in which he expected a commiſſion of importance. This turned our converſation for ſeveral days on the views of the court of Ruſſia, in the war in that part of the world; and the Baron Minchewſe aſſerted, that attacking the Turks in their provinces, between the Black ſea and the Euxine, was one of the wiſeſt meaſures, that could be adopted, and the beſt calculated of any to give a great diverſion to their

their arms, to the eaſe of the war in the provinces on the north of the Danube. It is a territory of very great importance from its ſituation between the two ſeas, as well as from the fineneſs of the climate and the fertility of much of the ſoil. It is by means of theſe provinces that they hold ſo great a command of the Black ſea, entirely ſurrounding it by their dominions and ports. By theſe provinces alſo the communication is kept up between their other dominions and the Tartars in ſubjection or alliance with them, after the Ruſſian army cuts it off on the weſtern coaſt. Such a diverſion, if made by an army tolerably powerful, would have great effects; thoſe eaſtern provinces are weak, drained of their troops, and the fortreſſes never in good order; if all the maritime ones were attacked one after another by an army in concert with a fleet, the war might in two campaigns be carried to the ſouthern coaſt of that ſea, which would alarm the Turks exceedingly, and occaſion great drafts from their grand army.

Upon another occaſion, when we were converſing upon the proſpects of the preſent war, I related the journey I had made from the Ukraine along the frontiers of Poland to Peterſburgh; and obſerved, that an immenſe track

track of country was not only in the hands of the Ruſſian troops, but the towns and villages partly peopled with Ruſſians, while the old inhabitants were all flying into Ruſſia: this, I remarked, had all the appearance of the Empreſs's deſigning to annex thoſe countries to her dominions. The Count ſaid, in reply, that there were ſeveral provinces in Lithuania, which the ancient Czars had long claimed; they were once independent; and after putting themſelves firſt under the protection of Poland, then under that of Ruſſia, and then going back to Poland again, diſputes about the ſovereignty had happened, which extended in ſome degree to the whole grand duchy of Lithuania: he therefore ſuppoſed the Empreſs might keep thoſe provinces in her hands, if not retain them, at leaſt for making a diviſion with the republick, and aſcertaining clearly the boundary, if ever a time of tranquillity ſhould return. He ſaid, that there was great reaſon to believe, ſo very political a princeſs would not miſtake ſo much, as to form any conſiderable conqueſts from Poland, and that for two unanſwerable reaſons: firſt, becauſe they are not worth her having, after the inhabitants are all ſwept away; by her encouragements ſhe attracts the greater part, and fear ſends away the reſt: if, on a peace,

peace, the owners of thoſe provinces are at the trouble to re-people them from other parts of Poland, they will only be at work for her, as in a future rupture the ſame game will be played over again, and the Empreſs gain every thing ſhe wants, which is not territory, but people. The ſecond reaſon is no leſs forcible; if ſhe was to diſmember any provinces of conſequence from the kingdom of Poland, ſhe would ſcarcely fail of bringing the united arms of Auſtria and Pruſſia on her; neither of which powers can ever ſee, with any degree of ſatisfaction, the increaſe of this empire's greatneſs, and would declare againſt it, the inſtant any appearance took place of making acquiſitions from Poland, which to them would carry appearances of greater deſigns; and if Poland fell into the hands of any neighbour, the balance of power, in all this part of the world, is at once deſtroyed; and of all events, none can be more againſt the intereſts of Auſtria and Pruſſia, than to bring the Ruſſian power nearer to them than it is at preſent. Peopling her waſtes is the great object of the Czarina; Poliſh provinces would be of no value to her; if territory is her object it cannot be in Poland, but on the Euxine ſea, where it would bring trade, and a command with it, of much more conſe-

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quence to her than half of Poland. The Ruſſians you ſaw ſettling on the frontier provinces, muſt be merely ſuch as are attracted by the armies with a view of ſupplying them at a time, when the deſerted houſes and farms of the Poles were ready to receive them; but they will all be glad to return, when the occaſion of their going is removed. Thoſe provinces are now under the civil as well as military adminiſtration of Ruſſia, which muſt of conſequence carry a great number of Ruſſians there, whoſe reſidence can be no longer than the occaſion continues. All will return upon a general pacification.

I ſhould think, in good politics, the Count's opinion muſt be right; and that the Empreſs keeps poſſeſſion of ſo many Poliſh provinces, in order to be better able to carry off all the inhabitants; which is certainly making the beſt uſe of them that can be to her. But, at the ſame time, ſhe acquires all that ſtrength which would be the conſequence of ſeizing the provinces themſelves; and therefore her rivals, who would declare againſt her for one, ſhould, to be conſiſtent, do the ſame for the other; for there certainly can be no doubt, but the increaſe of a million of ſubjects, fixed on the crown lands of this empire, would ſtrengthen the monarch on the throne far more

more than the acquisition of a Polish province, containing a million, and yield four or five times the wealth.

The approach of the spring made Mr. Mason and myself think of leaving Peterſburg. He determined to travel into Persia, and, if the country is tolerably settled, to go by land through the Mogul's empire to our settlements on the coast of Coromandel; an idea very worthy of a man, who, I believe, will never cease to travel till he ceases to live. But as I have no desire to pass away my life without the satisfaction of fixing, I shall bend my course homewards, with the pleasing idea of turning a country farmer in Northamptonshire, and putting in practice, on my own estate, some of the various cultures and methods which I have viewed in so many places.

The 3d of April, 1770, I left Peterſburg, taking with me five attendants to conduct me safe through Poland; among whom were two soldiers, who could speak German and Polish: of the former language I have enough to understand common conversation. Such a retinue in England would cost a traveller four or five pounds a day; but I could travel in Russia or Poland for four and thirty shillings a day, all expences included, except extraordinary

dinary ones: when I ſtop at large towns, the landlords, though they are very reaſonable, will yet ſwell the account higher than that. I arrived the 5th at Narva, which is one hundred miles, the country very badly inhabited, but much of it cultivated. The froſt is beginning to go; ſo in ten days or a fortnight we may expect ſummer, which, in the northern climates, comes at once, without the intervention of ſpring. The ſnow melts apace, till it is quite gone; the roads will be bad; but I have, even in their preſent circumſtances, travelled on worſe.

Narva is prettily ſituated on the banks of a fine river, though not a deep one, as ſhips of any ſize cannot come up to the town: it is well built, and ſtrongly fortified. Here is a conſiderable trade in hemp, flax, timber, potaſhes, and moſt of the commodities which are exported from Peterſburg. Almoſt all the trade is in the hands of the Engliſh and Dutch; but the former are much the greateſt purchaſers: the trade, which the latter carry on here has long been on the decline. I left Narva the 6th, at noon, and taking the banks of the river, followed it two days, when I arrived at Salatſki, which is above ninety miles from Narva, ſtanding at the bottom of a very fine lake, above forty miles broad, and as much long.

long. All this country is pretty well cultivated. I saw many fields of rye beautifully green, though so lately covered with snow, and much of them now under it. The 8th I reached Pleſcow, on a lake of the ſame name ſome parts of which, from the wooded iſlands which are thick in it, are very beautiful. All this country is as well cultivated as any part of Ruſſia. It produces a large quantity of flax; but they reckon the ſoil rather too light for hemp. They have two ſeaſons for ſowing both wheat and rye; October, and April and May; but they reckon that the former ſeaſon yields the beſt produce. They grow much more corn than is neceſſary for their own conſumption, which, with their flax, is exported by the port of Narva; water carriage giving them that opportunity at a very cheap rate. Wheat yields here two quarters, and ſometimes more, upon an acre; rye not more than wheat: barley is not ſown till the middle of May, but the heat of the ſun brings an early harveſt; it is not reckoned a very profitable grain here; they get from two quarters to two and an half per acre: oats yield three and an half. I had been informed, that in Livonia one method of cultivation was very extraordinary, which was that of flooding vales that would admit it, and keeping

them as fiſh-ponds for three or four years, and then, letting the water off, they cultivate it for corn for five or ſix years; after which the water muſt be let on again to fertilize it afreſh; but on enquiry I found it was not in this part of the country: but they uſe here almoſt as many wood aſhes for manuring their lands as they do in Sweden, and ſay that no other manure has ſo great an effect.

The roads growing but indifferent, I did not reach Marienburg till the tenth; the diſtance better than fifty miles. The country is woody in parts, but much of it very well cultivated. I paſſed through large tracks of young wheat and rye, which looked extremely well; and the peaſants were all buſy in the fields with their ploughs, which they work, ſome with horſes, and ſome with oxen. They were tilling their lands for barley and oats, and alſo flax; for the latter of which they appropriate their beſt ſoils, if not wet clays; but they prefer a fine light ſandy loam for it. An acre of good flax is worth from three to five pounds; but they raiſe much that does not yield three. Marienburg is a ſmall town, tolerably well built, and moſt romantically ſituated on a promontory of land which projects into a large lake; ſo that it is joined to the main land only by a narrow neck, not much

much wider than the road. An inland place in a country not full of manufactures, can ſcarcely be of any great importance. Marienburg was once of conſequence for its ſtrength, and the ſcene of ſeveral military expeditions, when belonging to the Teutonic knights. It is at preſent poor, but ſtrong for this part of the world. The people live cheaply, from the fertility of the neighbouring country, and the vaſt quantity of fiſh which they get out of the lake. The farmers manure their land around the lake with a kind of ouze, which they dig up on the banks of it: it is of a deep blue colour, about two feet deep, cuts like wet peat, and is compoſed of rotten vegetables; for there is an immenſe growth of weeds every year in the lake, which drive aſhore and rot, and, with a mixture of mud, forms this manure, which is of the nature of marle, and fertilizes their fields for many years. I have no doubt but the ſame materials might be found on the coaſts of many other lakes; but cuſtom not having made the uſe of them common, the huſbandmen neglect them.

The 11th I got to Pebalgen, another town built on a lake; the diſtance about forty miles, through a territory, part good, and part of it marſhy; but all the lands that would admit

of culture ſeemed to be under cultivation, and yielded wheat, rye, barley, oats, and pulſe. They alſo cultivate cabbages for the winter food of their herds, which are very numerous. It is a large red cabbage, which ſtands the utmoſt ſeverity of the winter, and is taken from under the ſnow in full perfection for all ſorts of cattle, who are wonderfully fond of them. They uſed to ſow the Swediſh turnep for this uſe, but come more into the cabbage, from finding the produce much greater. As to its ſtanding the winter, from the obſervations I have made, I am inclined to believe the climates in which vegetables ſuffer moſt, are not thoſe where great quantity of ſnow fall, but ſuch as have ſevere froſts without any ſnow: the ſnow keeps them warm, and greatly protects them from the keen froſty winds, which in other countries cut off ſo many vegetables. There is not much flax in this line of country; but they cultivate a little hemp: however, they depend moſt upon common huſbandry. It is remarkable that there is a great difference between Livonia, and the other parts of Ruſſia which I have been in. The ancient provinces are generally divided into the eſtates of the nobility, who cultivate them by means of ſtewards and agents, the peaſants being all ſlaves; but

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in the Ukraine, the land belongs to little freeholders, if I may ſo call them, who cultivate their own property. Now in Livonia the caſe differs from both; for here eſtates are of all ſizes, and lett out upon farming leaſes, as in England. There are many ſeats of country gentlemen, who all have a part of their eſtates in their own hands; but the peaſants, though not ſo much at their eaſe as in free countries, yet are not enſlaved; they hire large tracks of land, which ſome of them cultivate extremely well; and many of them are worth conſiderable ſums of money for this part of the world.

The 12th I rode near fifty miles to Cropper, through a country moſt beautifully watered with ſmall lakes and rivers; it is diverſified with gentle hills and groves of fine trees, and great part of it well cultivated; many parts of England have a much worſe appearance. The peaſants, from the general activity ſeen among them, are I believe a very induſtrious ſet of people; ſcarcely any arable field but what had ploughs at work in it; the ſoil is ſandy, for loams and clays require ſome time to dry after the ſnow is gone, before they will admit the cattle to till it; but theſe lands inclinable to ſand are preſently dry enough for tillage; they plough variouſly for their

ſpring corn, ſome only once, others three times. Flax is cultivated by many of them; but they aſſured me that wheat paid them better, though ſome farmers have now and then ſuch good flax crops as induce them to continue the culture. I remarked that moſt of them are very attentive thro' the winter ſeaſon in raiſing dunghills, or rather compoſt heaps near their houſes; for there was ſcarcely a farm without a great ſquare heap piled up to a conſiderable height; they are compoſed of the dung of their cattle, which they winter in houſes, and litter them with ruſhes and other aquatic weeds, which they cut up for that purpoſe in their numerous lakes and rivers; they alſo add great quantities of mud, alſo wood aſhes, &c. and at this time of the year they mix theſe hills together, turning them over, and incorporating the ingredients; after which they leave them till they ſow barley or plant cabbages, ſpreading them on the land before the laſt ploughing. This muſt all be a very excellent ſyſtem of huſbandry.

The 13th in the afternoon I reached Riga, which is the moſt conſiderable place of trade next to Peterſburgh in the Ruſſian dominions. It ſtands very advantageouſly for commerce, near the mouth of the river Dwina, which with its branches, extending a great way into

Poland

Poland and Ruſſia, bring immenſe quantities of commodities which are exported from this city: Among theſe the principal are hemp, flax, timber for maſts and other purpoſes; pitch, tar, and pot aſhes; all theſe commodities are produced in the provinces or near them, through which thoſe rivers run; and ſome of them by means of ſhort land carriage from one river to another, much further, even from the Ukraine and the Poliſh provinces that border upon Turkey. It appears by the regiſter of the cuſtom-houſe at this town, that more than five hundred ſail of ſhips, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred tons, have been loaded here in a year; three hundred of which were Dutch, and one hundred and ſixty Engliſh; but of late the trade of the town has declined, for at preſent there are not many more than four hundred ſail cleared outwards, of which about two hundred and forty are Engliſh. Every ton of the goods they carry from hence might be had at our own plantations; but for want of due encouragement we come to Ruſſia for them, and pay ſome hundred thouſand pounds balance on the account; which is an inſtance of miſtaken politicks that never was to be equalled in the annals of the Dutch republick.

I had a letter of recommendation to Mr. Scueen, a principal merchant in this town, with whom I ſpent the evening; and he not only gave me the heads of the preceding particulars, but I had alſo ſome inſtructive converſation with him on the preſent ſtate of the province of Livonia. Of all Peter the Great's conqueſts, this was the moſt important; being a country, which for its products, ports, and ſituation is of the higheſt importance to Ruſſia. It forms upon an average a ſquare of 200 miles every way, and contains better than twenty-five millions of acres, and near a million of people. Above half the lands, he calculates, are under profitable cultivation, either in arable crops or good meadow; and excluſive of woods, marſhes, lakes and rivers. The annual product is about thirteen millions ſterling, including timber. Such an eſtimate cannot be accurate, I do not give it the reader as a paper of authority; it is nothing more than the calculation of a very ingenious ſenſible man, who has many times travelled all over Livonia. The parts which I ſaw are not equal in culture to others in the province, yet I ſhould apprehend, that half the track I came through is under culture, meadows included; and as to the number of acres, it is a geographical fact. But I ſhould not conceive

ceive there were quite a million of people in it; I heard the number once eſtimated at between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand. Suppoſing ten or twelve millions of acres cultivated, which does not appear to me an exaggerated idea, I do not ſee how the total product of the province can be eſtimated ſo low as thirteen millions. But from this ſketch of particulars it is eaſy to conceive, that the importance of the province to Ruſſia is very great.

Travels

Travels through Poland and Prussia.

CHAP. VII.

Journey to Dantzick—Deſcription of the country and huſbandry—Trade of Dantzick—Journey to Warſaw—Miſerable ſtate of Poland—To Breſlaw.

THE 14th I left Livonia, and reached Mittaw, the capital of Courland, the diſtance about eight and forty miles. The face of the country is exactly the ſame as that of Livonia, and the ſoil equally fruitful, which by information I found was the caſe of the whole duchy: their products, as hemp, flax, lintſeed, timber, maſts, pot aſh, ſkins, tar, honey, wax, &c. are conſiderable. The whole country is full of black cattle, and they have many horſes. In the happy times of the Dukes of Courland, when the Ketler family had quiet poſſeſſion, and before the duchy and all its town were ravaged by the Swedes and Muſcovites, Mittaw was a conſiderable and a fine town; it reckoned fifteen thouſand inhabitants, but now they are not more than nine thouſand. It is yet an agreeable place, well built, with a handſome ducal palace, where is ſomething of a court with guards,

guards, and there is always a ſtrong garriſon in it. Of late years there have been great additions to the fortifications. It is now, as well as the whole duchy, in the hands of the Ruſſians.

From Mittaw I reached Zagari in Poland on the 15th, being about four and forty miles; part of the country tolerably cultivated, but not equal to Livonia, or even to Courland; there were ſome Ruſſian ſoldiers at Zagari to keep the town and the neighbouring country in order, which they do very effectually; and a great advantage it is to theſe parts of Poland, where the civil war is thus kept under by a foreign power. The advantages of all the cultivation I ſaw are in the hands of the Ruſſians, for the Poliſh nobles through moſt of the great province of Samogitia are driven from their eſtates, and the profits of ſuch of them as are not depopulated all go to the Ruſſians. The cottages of the peaſants are as mean as can well be conceived; they are chiefly built of turf, and covered with the ſame, being drawn up in a ſpiral form to a point, where is an aperture for the ſmoak to go out; the room is large enough for the family and the cattle; all lye together and in the ſame manner. I had read that they uſed in this province none

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but wooden plough-ſhares, through a ridiculous notion that the iron damaged their crops; but this is not true, for I ſaw many ploughs at work for barley, and all of them had iron ſhares, but of a moſt aukward conſtruction.

The 16th I got to Roſenne, the diſtance near ſixty miles; through a country that had hardly any appearance of preſent cultivation; many villages I paſſed were deſerted, ſeveral manſions in ruins, and fields entirely waſte that had once been tilled; the whole a very melancholy ſpectacle; but much of the country was partly marſh and foreſt. The town of Roſenne is a ſmall fortified place, which has a Ruſſian garriſon; there is an appearance of nothing but poverty in it. The 17th I got to Swingy, a little town about thirty four miles from Roſenne; there is ſome land in this line of country under cultivation, being the eſtate of a nobleman, who enjoys it in tolerable peace under the protection of Ruſſia. They ſow barley, oats, peaſe, beans, and a little rye; I ſaw ſeveral ploughs at work; and upon examining them, found that the ſhares were wood, to my no ſmall ſurprize; I enquired the reaſon of this, and they could give me none, only that they never uſed any other ſort; the land here is ſandy, and did not

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ſeem to yield good crops; the rye was full of weeds: I aſked if it was to be weeded, and they told me they never weeded any corn at all. The nobleman is an old man, who has his eſtate managed in the ſame way as his father had; that is, the peaſants are miſerably oppreſſed by his ſtewards, and his own income at the ſame time contemptible.

The 18th I travelled forty miles to Stocken, all in Pruſſia, the country ſandy, and not much of it well cultivated, but the peaſants are much more at their eaſe than in Poland; and this country being ſubject to the king of Pruſſia, no Ruſſians, no Poliſh confederacies, nor any diſturbances happen in it, which is a very great advantage to agriculture; though I yet have ſeen nothing that gives me any great idea of their knowledge in that ſcience. This country is much more populous than Samogitia, and the houſes of the peaſants built of much better materials. I paſſed two or three villages, entirely inhabited by Poles who have fled their country, and ſettled here by order of the king of Pruſſia, though without any of that noble encouragement I ſaw exerted in Ruſſia; and I believe thoſe who take refuge in the latter country, are in other reſpects better treated than they were in Pruſſia. The 19th I got by dinner to Koningſburg, the diſtance

ſtance, being only twenty miles through a country pretty well cultivated, and tolerably peopled, though the ſoil is in general ſandy, and from its appearance I ſhould not apprehend it very good. All the country people were now buſy in preparing their land for ſpring-ſown corn; they plough here with only two cattle in a plough; and I ſaw ſome drawn by a little horſe and cow, or a little ox; this is very practicable with ſo light a ſoil: they ſow large quantities of buck-wheat, and reckon it more profitable than barley. Koningſburg is the moſt conſiderable town which the King has in Pruſſia; it is tolerably well ſituated, and has a very good harbour with ſome trade, but not near equal to that of Riga, though it is a hanſe town. The export is in the ſame articles, except hemp and flax, of which the quantity is too inconſiderable to mention. Upon the coaſt are found ſometimes large quantities of yellow amber, which is to be bought at Koningſburg. The ſtreets are broad, but irregular and not well paved; but there are many very good buildings in it, and they reckon above twenty thouſand inhabitants. The King has made ſeveral attempts to increaſe its trade, but they do not ſeem to be attended with any great effect. Dantzick on one ſide, and Riga on the other, are two ſuch

rivals, that this place cannot make its trade good againſt them for any thing further than the mere amount of the products of that track of country, which lies nearer to it than to any other.

The 20th I reached Landſperg, at about forty miles from Koningſburg: the country all ſandy, and, that circumſtance conſidered, pretty well inhabited. Buck-wheat is a great crop with them, I found. They do not ſow it till the end of May: the produce is greater than that of any other grain or pulſe, and the ſtraw they reckon nearly equal to hay for cattle; an obſervation I had not any where heard of before. The peaſants of this country, I find, are all much freer than in Poland, but they pay very heavy taxes to the King; yet they are not in ſuch bad circumſtances as the Poliſh peaſants, becauſe taxation is regular; whereas the payments made by the peaſants to their lords in Poland are ſo capricious, that they never know when they have paid their total: moſt of it being in cattle, and irregular perſonal ſervices; the beſt liberty that can be given to peaſants, is to compound all ſuch for money, which makes their burthens regular, however heavy they may be; and when this ſyſtem is extended as far as it will go, it includes the tenures of land; ſo that all the

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eſtates are lett on leaſe, and the landlord's whole property pays him a regular intereſt in money: this is the higheſt advantage that can any where be made of the ſoil; it will in this caſe always be beſt cultivated, and yield a greater total product than in any other ſyſtem, at the ſame time that many more people are maintained than in any other way. It is not at all neceſſary that a country ſhould be free, in order for this ſyſtem to reign; it is as general throughout France, and the arbitrary governments in Italy, as it is in England. The people, it is true, may be oppreſſed; but then the oppreſſion is different: in France, the proportion of taxes paid by the farmers and peaſants is quite out of all proportion to the other claſſes of the people; but then there is a regularity in their burthens, which renders them bearable. Taxes upon land, cattle, crops, or on whatever they may be laid, muſt in their nature have ſomething of regularity and proportion in them; but the perſonal ſervice, in which the lower ranks of Poland are kept, is a mere ſlavery, ſuch a deſpotiſm as the planters in the Weſt-Indies uſe over their African ſlaves. Compared with this, the oppreſſed ſtate of the Ruſſian peaſants is an abſolute freedom; beſides

which, there are many farmers who hire their lands by tenures.

The 21ſt carried me about forty miles to Elbing; the country all ſandy, yet tolerably well cultivated. It is remarkable that buck-wheat, upon theſe ſands, very often yields as profitable a produce as wheat on the beſt ſoils: they get five or ſix quarters an acre off it, and the ſtraw they reckon excellent food for their cattle in winter. Swediſh turneps they alſo raiſe to advantage upon them; and tillage is ſo eaſy, from the lightneſs of the draught, that they plough their land, after the firſt time, with a ſingle horſe or cow: but this ploughing with cows is only while they are dry, they do not uſe them while they give milk. Elbing is, next to Dantzick, the moſt conſiderable town in Poliſh Pruſſia: it is a pretty, neat, and well-built place, with a trade that is ſufficient to give a briſk circulation of money among the inhabitants: they load many ſhips in a year, ſometimes above thirty ſail, with corn, timber, potatoes, and hides. It is always ſtriking, in every little town, to ſee the ſuperiority that reſults from trade: a ſmall commerce gives a circulation and a wealth, that diffuſes happineſs through every claſs of the people; the houſes are better built, new ones are erected, and every body

body lives well. But in a country town, ſupported by nothing but the agriculture around it, every thing is the contrary; the houſes are poorly built, many are fallen into ruin, and all ranks of the people are poor and unhappy. Such are the conſequences of bringing commerce into a country, which never fails of giving a new appearance to every object.

The 22d I arrived at the famous city of Dantzick; the diſtance about forty miles. I croſſed ſeveral branches of the Viſtula, part of the couutry being within the liberties of the city. This territory, though a poor ſandy ſoil, is moſt highly cultivated, and ſhews, in every acre, the infinite advantages which reſult from liberty and wealth. The burghers have their villas in this territory; and all of them have farms, which they manage in a manner much ſuperior to the huſbandry that is to be ſeen any where elſe in Poland. I ſaw ſome very fine fields of wheat on this apparently barren ſand, which, I dare ſay, the moſt fertile land in Poland does not exceed: this was owing to manure brought from Dantzick, ſuch as dung of all ſorts, aſhes, the ſweepings of the ſtreets, the offals of the ſhops, &c. which being carried out of the city unto heaps, is ſold into the country by the public

ſcavengers; moſt of it is bought by the Dantzickers for their farms; and they raiſe by this means as fine corn, &c. on their poor ſand, as the richeſt ſoils yield that are not equally manured.

Dantzick is a very conſiderable city, well ſituated on the mouth of the Viſtula, with a very advantageous harbour for all but the largeſt ſhips. It very much reſembles Hamburgh, both in the loftineſs of the houſes, the manner of building them, and in the narrowneſs of the ſtreets. The ſtreets and houſes are much cleaner than any others in this part of the world; but neatneſs is not carried to the length it is in Holland. The principal ſtreets are planted on each ſide in the Dutch way, which is an inſtance of ill taſte in the original, which one cannot but be ſurpriſed at ever ſeeing copied. The city is not large, the circumference not exceeding three miles: it is fortified with a wall and a double ditch; but the ſtrength alone that is its ſecurity, is the intereſt of all their neighbours that the place ſhould continue free: in which circumſtance it is in the ſame predicament as Hamburgh. Two thouſand regular troops, excellently provided and armed, would be a very weak garriſon; but they have not ſeven hundred to ſpare, and thoſe neither in diſcipline, arms,

arms, or magazines, comparable to the ſame number of men in any regular ſervice in Europe. In a word, Dantzick has a ſtrength to reſiſt nobody but the Poles. They have an arſenal full of uſeleſs arms, and talk of poſſeſſing two or three hundred pieces of cannon; but a great train of artillery may be as inſignificant, as theſe are of Dantzick, as a magazine of match locks.

But the commerce of this city is the object that is alone worth attention; it poſſeſſing, they reckon, ſixteen out of twenty parts of all the trade of Poland. This is by means of the river Viſtula, and its numerous branches, which ſpread through a vaſt extent of that kingdom, and are navigable almoſt wherever they go. The great article of export is corn, and particularly wheat; they ſend off ſome years to the amount of five, ſix, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and once the amount aroſe to one million two hundred and forty thouſand pounds. Of late years the quantity is much declined, and, ſince the preſent troubles in Poland, has been very trifling; ſo that the total, laſt year, it was ſaid, did not amount to one hundred thouſand pounds. All the corn comes in ſloops and flat-bottomed barges, that carry from thirty to ſixty tons, and ſome more, and wholly on

account of the landlords, who are all nobles by virtue of their poſſeſſing lands. It is raiſed on their eſtates by their peaſants, who, as I before obſerved, are all ſlaves; ſo that the Poles may be ſaid to farm their whole eſtates, whatever be the extent: the barges are their own generally, and the watermen that navigate them are ſome of them their vaſſals, and others freemen, whom they hire in the cities and towns on the river. It is ſold to merchants at Dantzick, who lodge it in their granaries, which are more capacious than thoſe of any town in Europe, ſome of them eight ſtories high. The boats bring, beſides corn, all the other articles of ſale which the Poliſh eſtates produce, particularly pot-aſh, maſts, plank for ſhip-building, pipe ſtaves, which are better than thoſe of Hamburgh, bees-wax in large quantities, ſome hemp and flax, and formerly much of it manufactured into ſacking, packing cloths, and even linen; but this of late years is much declined: of all theſe articles, to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand pounds, but ſometimes not near ſo much. The boats, on their return, carry back to the nobles, cities, and towns, all the commodities and manufactures which they want. Among theſe are reckoned, iron from Sweden, of which they once took two thou-

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ſand tons a year, but the import is fallen to a thouſand; Eaſt India goods of all ſorts, manufactures of woollen and fine linens, ſilks, brandy, wines, &c. The Dutch have all the ſupply of India goods, and moſt of that of linen and woollen; and the French the principal part of the ſilks, brandy, wines, and all the Weſt India commodities. As to England, her trade with Dantzick is very inconſiderable, which is entirely owing to our taking off very few of her commodities: we never pay money for what plank, potaſh, or hemp we import; and when wheat is ſo dear in England, that foreign corn is admitted, our merchants have ſometimes ſent many ſhips thither to load with wheat, and have paid for their cargoes with our manufactures, of which none are ſo acceptable in Poland as the hardware goods of Birmingham, Sheffield, Rotherham, &c.

Making uſe of a letter of recommendation, which I had brought from the Count Selliern, to Mr. Pratſky, a very eminent merchant at Dantzick, and one whoſe great wealth ſhews how well he underſtands the trade of the city, gave me an opportunity not only of getting the preceding particulars upon better authority than I could otherwiſe have done, but, at the ſame time, enabled me to make ſome enquiries concerning the preſent ſtate of Poland, reſpecting

ing the factious views and designs of the several parties which at present harrass that kingdom. I had for three years past read much concerning them in the public prints of many countries, but could never clearly understand the real state of the kingdom till I travelled from the Ukraine to Petersburg. The account he gave me was this:

"Poland is divided into two grand parties, the Roman Catholicks, and the Protestants and Greeks. The former, for some ages past, have omitted (as has been the case in every country of Europe) no opportunities of oppressing the latter, and depriving them of that religious liberty to which they have a right by the constitution of the kingdom. These oppressions and invasions of privileges begot confederacies of nobles, professing the Reformed or Greek religions, who entered into compacts for the defence of their faith, and declaring a full refusal to acknowledge any sovereignty, until their complaints were redressed. This stroke was copied immediately in most parts of the kingdom where those religious are found. This gave rise to counter confederacies of the Roman Catholick nobles, with this addition, that they, in their agreement, declared all who did not accede to it to be enemies to the kingdom.

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A civil war immediately commenced: Ruſſian troops, which had long been in the kingdom, were greatly increaſed, upon the Empreſs's declaring, in a general manifeſto, her protection of the Greek and Reformed religion; and all parts of the kingdom were immediately in arms. In this war, the King, who diſliked the whole of theſe proceedings, has been neuter; though it is very well known that the Ruſſians are his friends, and that their power preſerves him on the throne. The ſucceſs of the war was at firſt various; but every where the effect of it was deſtroying and plundering each other's eſtates, and utterly ruining a conſiderable part of the kingdom. In the plunder taken on either ſide, the peaſants are always the moſt valuable part: ſuch as are not armed by their maſters, but remain at home to cultivate the land, are, upon a ſkirmiſh or incurſion which proves ſucceſsful, carried off, and planted upon the victors lands, where they are moſt ſeverely treated, if they do not immediately conform to the religion of their new maſters. Such a ſyſtem of making war, which has now ravaged Poland three years with great violence, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, is well enough calculated for reducing the whole kingdom to the condition of a deſart. The Ruſſians have in general

general been too hard for their enemies, and have cut in pieces a great number of their confederacies as fast as they are formed; upon which occasion the counter-reformed Poles enter and utterly destroy their estates, carrying off the peasants, and fixing them upon their own lands; and many are sent into Russia from almost every expedition, which, of all the rest, are those only who have any chance of being fixed out of the reach of constant revolutions. This is the present state of the kingdom: more than half of it has been laid waste since the war began; and what threatens the whole is, the number of Roman Catholic confederacies, which are formed as fast as the Russians destroy the old ones. Nothing can bring any degree of peace to the kingdom, but the Empress increasing her troops to such a number, as to make a conquest of all the Roman Catholic part of the kingdom: and this would give umbrage, it is thought, to other powers, although some of them have declared in favour of the Reformed Greek cause; that is, in favour of liberty of conscience. While the present war lasts between Russia and Turkey, the Empress cannot spare either troops or money for such a plan; but if a peace is concluded with the Porte,

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we may then look for more decisive measures."

Upon my asking him his sentiments of the Russian acquisitions, and their keeping possession of so many provinces, driving away the Polish nobility from their estates, and carrying most of the peasants into Russia; intimating that I thought the Empress had a fair chance of acquiring something important; he replied, "I do not apprehend that the Empress of Russia will think of seizing any Polish provinces, because that would make not only all moderate persons, and all well-wishers to their country among the Poles, her implacable enemies, but would deprive her of the strongest pretence she has of interfering, and thereby governing Poland: at the same time, it would bring her into a war with Prussia and Austria, for neither of those powers would see such Russian acquisitions, and sit by quietly. The aims of that Princess, which I have little doubt are those of a true politician, are to support the party of her own religion, and prevent their being oppressed, and to gain such a general power in the kingdom, as to have her will be treated, in all great national measures, with due respect. Her carrying away the Polish peasants to people her crown lands, is most certainly

certainly a very political conduct; for she will add thereby equally to her strength and wealth."

M. Pratsky insisted on my taking a dinner with him, which I did. He has a large and convenient house, well furnished, and much in the English manner. His wife is an agreeable, sensible woman, a native of Silesia, who talked politicks incessantly, and was a strenuous advocate for the King of Prussia. They had a beautiful young lady, their daughter, who entertained me on the harpsichord, Dantzick being pretty well supplid with musicians from Germany. M. Pratsky lives elegantly, but in the German manner, which is all the taste there: they sit long at their meals, and drink very heartily: and among all the nations that are fond of the pleasures of the table, there is always much society, and a desire of pleasing, which does instead of the more refined manners of the southern countries. Miss Pratsky, and other ladies I saw, aim in their dress, I observed, at an imitation of the French taste, but I cannot say I could ever admire any imitations, even in dress: whatever nation affects to follow the taste of another, will never make any other figure than that of an halting copyer, who shews as much aukwardness as fashion. The English never

never make such fools of themselves, as when they copy the French in their dress; the two nations are of different genius, and different manners; we never come up to the extravagance of the original; our copy is always tame: go from London to Paris, you are in a new world; you find what was called French to be a miserable defective copy of a miserable original.

During my stay at Dantzick I was at the Golden Crown, a very good inn, lately fitted up and kept by a Dutchman; he charges very reasonably, and supplied me with good fish very fresh, and his wines are excellent, particularly old hock.

The 26th I left Dantzick and took the road for Warsaw, in the province of Ploscow. I was informed, there were several parties of confederates, and much skirmishing, I therefore took the advantage of travelling with a Dantzick burgomaster, going on public business to the King, with a company of soldiers for his guard. That day we travelled above forty miles to Kirchow, a small town through a sandy track of country, but with many villages in it. The next day we got to Culm, once a famous place and a hanse-town, but it has long been in decay, and is now, though a large place, filled with nothing but beggars and

and ruins. The ſituation is upon a hill, and would, if the town was well built, be very pleaſant. From hence we paſſed the 28th through Thorn to Wladiſlaw; the former of theſe towns was a hanſe, and a noted place for trade before that of Dantzick, but moſt of its commerce and inhabitants are gone; it has ſtill, however, a good appearance, the ſtreets are broad, ſtrait, and ſome of them well paved, and the houſes large and handſome: here is yet ſome trade by means of the Viſtula, which is what keeps the place from the ruin into which ſo many others have fallen. The country we paſſed is not ſandy, but ſeems to be a good loam, and the appearance of the corn indicates good huſbandry, but many eſtates are quite deſolate: we went through three villages that had been reduced to aſhes more than a year ago, and no ſigns yet of being rebuilt. Wladiſlaw is a pretty well built town alſo on the Viſtula; the only buildings in it that are of any note is the Cathedral, it being the ſee of a biſhop, an old Gothic edifice; and the biſhop's palace, which has been much damaged by a ſiege the town ſtood.

The 29th we went 30 miles to Plockſkow, on the banks of the river, except where marſhes prevent; the ſurrounding country is a very rich ſoil, and not having ſuffered from

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an enemy, ſhewed many ſigns of good cultivation: great champain tracks of open country are covered with wheat, which looked very well: the ploughs were buſy in preparing for barley; no oats are cultivated here. The land ſeemed very well tilled by a couple of little horſes and two oxen; but the ploughs are of a moſt aukward conſtruction, and the peaſants know not how to turn a ſtraight furrow; they go as crooked as can well be imagined, which is diſagreeable to look at, tho', I apprehend, not the worſe for the corn. They ſow a good deal of hemp and flax in this neighbourhood, which they are very well ſituated for ſending, with their corn, to Dantzick. Wheat produces two quarters an acre; barley three, and peaſe two and an half. An acre of hemp, or of flax, is worth about fifty ſhillings. They have large herds of cattle, which they feed in ſummer upon the marſhes on the Viſtula; and in winter upon cabbages and turneps, which they always boil in the German manner before they give them to the cattle: this is not of much conſequence where wood is ſo plentiful; but in England would do only in the neighbourhood of coal mines. But it is highly worthy of trial, to ſee how it would anſwer to follow this cuſtom; becauſe, if one acre boiled goes as far as three

or four raw, which I have heard it does, there are many ſituations in which it would be very adviſeable. We paſſed near a nobleman's manſion, ſurrounded by a double moat full of water, and ſome cannon mounted on the battlements: my fellow-traveller told me, that this caſtle had been often beſieged by the oppoſite party; but the nobleman driving all his peaſants and cattle immediately in, had yet been ſucceſsful in repelling them, which ſeems to be the only ſyſtem of life in Poland for any perſon to have the leaſt ſecurity; but of late he has had the fortune to eſcape any ravages, and is remarkable for the induſtry and attention with which he cultivates his eſtate, and takes a moſt fatherly care of all the peaſants on it. This is a very rare inſtance in Poland; for they are generally uſed, as I have often obſerved, in a moſt oppreſſive manner; but the good effect of this contrary treatment is extremely viſible in the caſe of this nobleman, who, with only a ſmall eſtate, compared with many in the kingdom, has by means of a regular and conſiſtent conduct towards his vaſſals, and by a conſtant attention to the culture of his land, been able to ſave much money; part of which he has laid out in fortifying his caſtle, which has more than once preſerved his property and his peaſants,

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and the reſt is lodged in the bank of Dantzick.

The 30th we reached Zadrzin, which is a ſtage of more than forty miles, through a very fine rich country, part of which is fully cultivated. They ſow very large quantities of wheat and barley, but no rye, or oats, peaſe or beans; they fallow their lands for wheat, and alſo lay all their dung in for it, and afterwards take two ſucceſſive crops of barley; ploughing thrice for each. Wheat yields four quarters an acre, and barley three. They alſo ſow ſome hemp and flax, and get as fine crops as any in Poland. The country is divided into four eſtates, and has eſcaped being plundered, which is owing, I ſuppoſe, to the vicinity of the capital, where there has generally been a pretty ſtrong garriſon. All this country on the Viſtula, and between Dantzick and Warſaw, is the beſt ſituated of any in Poland; for the voyage to the former city is ſhort, and there are many populous and conſiderable towns, particularly Warſaw, which take off large quantities of the products at a good market, which is an advantage of the moſt valuable kind.

From Zadrzin is only forty miles to Warſaw, the road running all the way within ſight of the Viſtula; in ſome places there are ſkirt-

ing marſhes, but in others all through an arable country. This we travelled the 1ſt of May, arriving at that city in the afternoon. It is the ſeat of government, the capital of the kingdom, and the reſidence of the King; yet there is nothing ſtriking in it. The ſtreets are many of them crooked and ill paved, the buildings have little of elegance in them, tho' ſome of them are new ones; there are a few which make a tolerable ſhew: theſe are houſes belonging to the Poliſh nobles, who make Warſaw their winter reſidence. The royal palace is a noble edifice, being, beyond compariſon, the fineſt building in Poland. The apartments are very ſpacious, and ſome of them new fitted up and furniſhed in the Engliſh manner, being executed by the London artiſts, brought from thence at the king's expence. The room they call the Hall of Victory, from formerly having been a hall, is converted into a ſaloon hung with tapeſtry from Bruſſels; the ceiling, pannels, door-caſes, and window frames all neatly executed in white carving, gilt: the rooms are very numerous, and all the offices for a court extremely convenient. And here let me obſerve, that notwithſtanding the preſent troubles which diſtract the kingdom, yet there is a magnificence and a brilliancy diſplayed around the King of Poland, which

ſuits

ſuits very ill with the ſtate of his mind, than which, by all accounts, nothing can be more unhappy. His Majeſty is certainly a man of quick parts, and has a truly patriotic concern for the miſeries of his kingdom, which he is utterly unable to prevent: the ſtate, in which he lives is the regular court, which the republick maintains for all its kings; and it is ſo much a piece of republican magnificence, that the King has not all the offices in it in his own power. The court days do not exhibit any great circle of Poliſh lords; the moſt conſiderable in the kingdom are not only in oppoſition to the crown, but even in open arms againſt it: but the officers who are obliged to attend the nobles of the King's party, foreign miniſters, and Ruſſian officers, all together fill the room pretty well. There is a Poliſh regiment of guards, of a thouſand men, diſciplined in the Pruſſian manner, raiſed by the preſent King, and he often reviews them; the officers as well as private men are Poles, but none of them nobles; they are collected from all the other claſſes, and depend abſolutely on the will of the King: this is a meaſure which was brought about by degrees, and with great art; it has been of uncommon conſequence to the King, for by means of this body of troops he has been able

to move into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, without the guard of a Ruſſian army, which is a moſt unpopular, though a very neceſſary meaſure at preſent: it is not clearly known from what fund the King is able to pay this regiment, though his œconomy and private fortune would, in better times, accompliſh it; but the public revenue, in the midſt of the preſent confuſions, ſuffers extremely. If he is able to augment this corps by degrees, introducing none but men of low birth, mere ſoldiers of fortune, and abſolutely dependent on him, it may in time be a means of giving him an authority, which no other meaſure will ever bring about; for Poland will never ſee times of tolerable order, till her kings have abundantly more power than at preſent, and nothing but force will ever give them that power.

The fortifications at Warſaw are ſufficient to prevent the town being inſulted by flying parties, or ſmall armies, but could not ſtand a ſiege of any duration againſt an army well provided: it has two good walls, flanked by many baſtions, and tolerably lined with artillery; the ditch is broad and deep, and the waters of the Viſtula may be let into it at pleaſure; but the extent of theſe fortifications is too great to be defended effectually with

with leſs than eight thouſand men. Warſaw is populous; its being the capital of Poland always brought great numbers to ſettle in it; but the miſerable ſtate of moſt of the other towns in the kingdom has lately increaſed it very much, ſo that the number of its inhabitants are now computed to be above eighty thouſand. There are at preſent in it many Poliſh families, once in affluence, but now reduced to live in a very mean way: I am told, that ſeveral cities in the Queen of Hungary's, and King of Pruſſia's dominions are alſo full of them; Dantzick and Koningſburg, I know are. To what a ſhocking ſtate is this fine country reduced! wholly by the furious zeal of Roman-catholick biſhops, who would never be ſatisfied without the total deſtruction of the Proteſtants and Greeks.

Upon our journey from Dantzick we met with a ſmall party that attacked us, and were more than once in ſight of a band of robbers, who would have deſtroyed us, had we been leſs guarded. This determined me in the journey I propoſed making to Breſlaw, to wait till I could go in ſome company that would be a protection. Fortunately this offered in a week, by the Dutch reſident returning home by the route of Breſlaw: he had a party of Ruſſian ſoldiers for his protection,

and I was informed that I ſhould lay in plenty of proviſions and wine for our journey, as we ſhould paſs through a country that was nine parts in ten deſtroyed. The 7th of May we ſet out, and reached Rava the 9th; the diſtance about threeſcore miles; the firſt five from Warſaw under cultivation, but all the reſt one continued deſart, and as pitiable a ſight as could well be ſeen. This line of country was not long ſince well peopled, and as well cultivated as any in Poland; which I could ſee by the numerous ruins of villages, ſingle cottages, and ſeats, ſome quite deſtroyed others tumbling down, and many in aſhes: the country had moſt of it been arable, but the plough had no longer any buſineſs here; all the territory preſented one face of deſolation, the fields over-run with weeds, and becoming graſs, without any cattle to feed on them. Rava was once a pretty town, and well peopled, but it is now a heap of ruins; out of ten thouſand people that once lived here, there does not remain above ſeventeen houſes inhabited, and thoſe by ſome miſerable creatures, too old to fly from the misfortunes of their town.

From Rava to Sirad is one hundred miles; in which track of country, though it evidently has all been cultivated, we ſaw but three villages

lages inhabited; all the reſt burnt, and the people gone; the inhabitants of theſe yet venture to till a ſmall quantity of land: we ſaw a little wheat, and ſeveral ploughs turning in barley; but who will reap it, the ſeedſmen little know. It is aſtoniſhing, that the country from Dantzick to Warſaw ſhould eſcape ſo well, while this has ſuffered ſo ſeverely. I there ſaw many devaſtations; but they are nothing, compared with the condition of theſe territories. Sirad was in arms both within and without the walls; we therefore made a detour to the left, and paſſed it. From thence to the boundary of Sileſia is about forty miles; all which is one continued ſcene of ruin. This is a journey of near two hundred miles; and a more melancholy one can ſcarcely be travelled. Moderately ſpeaking, I do not believe there are five thouſand ſouls left in the whole country, Sirad excepted, the ſtate of which town we were acquainted with: you may every where trace the plough; ſome fields wholly ploughed, others half, others juſt began, but all over-run with weeds and graſs; ſome remains of corn on the ground that never was reaped; houſes, barns, ſtables, and all buildings, either burnt down, or falling for want

of

of repairs. Imagination cannot paint any ſcene more dreadful. Thoſe landlords only are tolerably off who fled to Germany at the beginning of the troubles, and live in expectation of peace, when they may return to their eſtates; the property of them is left, and will, on a pacification, enable them to recover themſelves: but others, who, in their defence, or to ſave their buildings from fire, bought off their enemies, met their fate at laſt, and cannot return without the load of debts; ſo that new buildings and ſettlements will be impracticable to them. I was aſſured, that there are ſome hundreds of eſtates in the kingdom at preſent, without any owners exiſting, ſo many whole families having been deſtroyed.

Travels through Germany.

CHAP. VIII.

Sileſia—Breſlaw—Journey to Berlin—The Country—Agriculture—Deſcription of Berlin—Preſent State of the King of Pruſſia's Forces, Revenues, &c.—Saxony—Leipſick—Dreſden—State of the Electorate.

NOTHING could be more ſtriking, than the different appearance of Sileſia from that of Poland. We entered it at the 13th, and found the country full of villages, half of which, at leaſt, were peopled with Poles; the land all cultivated, and much of it extremely well; the houſes and cottages in good repair, with all the appearances of eaſe and happineſs; which formed ſuch a contraſt to the wretchedneſs we had ſo lately ſeen, that the view had the effect of making Sileſia appear a paradiſe. Much of this muſt certainly be occaſioned by the great increaſe of population, from ſuch numbers of Poles, who fly to eſcape the miſeries that every where deſolate and lay waſte their own country. The King of Pruſſia has officers appointed along all his frontiers, to ſee that all theſe poor people are received, and to provide cottages for them as faſt as poſſible. In this

work

work the King is at no expence; he only grants them permiſſion to build cottages on any waſtes or commons that are not abſolute property; and his edict directs, that every neighbourhood ſhould give all due aſſiſtance to the new ſettlers, and find them employment in huſbandry or manufactures, after the rate of the country; and for the maintenance of ſuch as do not find employment, he directs a tax to be laid on the diſtrict; but this cannot be laſting, as they have portions of land aſſigned them, ſufficient for their maintenance when brought into culture. Upon the waſtes belonging to the crown, theſe portions are conſiderable enough to form, when cultivated, ſmall farms, that hereafter will yield the crown a good rent. I ſaw many of theſe poor people, and it is hardly credible how much they ſeemed to enjoy themſelves, on eſcaping the miſeries of Poland, and finding ſuch an humane protection in the territories of the neighbouring princes. I am informed that the Empreſs Queen receives them in the ſame manner in Moravia, Auſtria, and Hungary; many of them are in Tranſilvania. All the King of Pruſſia's long line of frontier, from the bottom of Sileſia to Livonia, is open to them; and great numbers take refuge in every part of it. I before gave an account of the

the multitudes to whom the Empreſs of Ruſſia gave protection; if all this is conſidered, it muſt at once be apparent, that the kingdom of Poland muſt be amazingly depopulated, ſince it cannot be doubted but ſeveral millions of people, probably not leſs than three or four, are driven out of the country, or killed. Such a depopulation will take ſeveral ages to recover; and ſtill this evil continues, without any appearance of its coming to an end; ſo that what the event will be, except leaving that county a mere deſart, is very difficult to know.

We travelled thirty miles before we reached Breſlaw. All this line of country is rich either in corn, meadow, or wood; the arable lands ſeemed very well cultivated; the wheat looked well, and the quantity of land occupied with it is conſiderable: they alſo cultivate rye: the barley was all coming up, and ſeemed to promiſee good crops; they do not ſow any oats; but they cultivate many cabbages as winter food for their cattle, and they reckon them much better, and to laſt longer than turneps: potatoes they plant in large quantities for Breſlaw, which city conſumes a great deal of all the products of the earth; a vaſt advantage to all the neighbouring country: the ſmall potatoes they fatten their hogs

hogs with. The river Oder is navigable there, which is another great benefit to the country, always keeping the markets briſk, which, of all other circumſtances, is the moſt certain means of introducing good huſbandry. The eaſe and happineſs of the peaſants in this country is the more ſurprizing, as their taxes are very heavy, and carry as much into the King's coffers almoſt, as into their own pockets. It can be attributed only to the regularity of his Pruſſian majeſty's government; for that monarch looks ſo much into all his affairs, that there is no ſuch thing in his dominions as irregular oppreſſion: no miniſter, no officer, dares to lay the hand of power on the defenceleſs poor; the King is their protector, and they had better be heavily taxed by him, than pay leſs, but be open with it to thoſe numerous and accidental oppreſſions common in all other arbitrary governments.

Breſlaw is a very extenſive and well built city: it is moſt advantageouſly ſituated on the Oder, upon the banks of which are ſome very fine ſtreets; they are ſtrait, well paved, and with many very well built houſes. There are ſeveral ſquares in it, and many public buildings, worthy the attention of a traveller; among which are ſeveral churches, the Jeſuits college, the town-houſe, the arſenal, the quay,

quay, &c. It is a biſhop's ſee, but the cathedral has nothing remarkable in it: alſo the ſeat of an univerſity, which has for ſome time been in a flouriſhing ſituation. It was pretty ſtrongly fortified in the laſt war; has a good wall, a double ditch, ſeveral baſtions and ravelins, and a ſtrong citadel; but the works are ſo extenſive, that they require an army to defend them. The King keeps a garriſon here of ten thouſand men; they are drawn up in the great ſquare every day, and go thro' their exerciſes, being as well-diſciplined regiments as any in the King's ſervice. There certainly reſults from this ſtrong garriſon, and the others throughout Sileſia, which are all proportionably numerous, great ſecurity, of which the laſt war was a very ſtriking proof; for, undoubtedly, the king owed his preſervation to the excellent order all his fortreſſes were in, and the numerous garriſons they were furniſhed with: had the Auſtrians met him unprepared, they would have at leaſt wreſted Sileſia from him, and perhaps have made ſome impreſſion upon his hereditary dominions. There are many churches and convents in the city; but I did not hear of any thing in them that was particularly worthy of attention. There is a great trade carried on here by means of

the Oder, and eſpecially ſince the canal was cut between that and the Elbe, which communicates with Hamburg. The articles in which this commerce is particularly carried on, are linen and flax, corn, timber, plank, &c. all which are ſtaple commodities in Sileſia, and produced in very great plenty. Moſt of the ſtaves which form ſo great an export at Hamburgh come from this duchy; and the quantity of oak timber and plank, which is exported from it, is very conſiderable. Upon all theſe articles the King lays a duty on the exportation; which is a piece of wrong politics, and of ſo flagrant a nature, that would make one think his abilities were thoſe of a warrior alone. The trade of Breſlaw has declined a little ſince the troubles broke out in Poland; for in times of tranquility in that kingdom, this province exports large quantities of goods thither, particularly linens, of which the Poles buy more than any other nation; but ſince the commencement of the civil war, they have been too much impoveriſhed to be able to purchaſe any quantity worth mentioning.

The manufacture of linen in Sileſia is very conſiderable: it employs many thouſands of people, enriches the whole duchy, and brings in a very conſiderable revenue to the King. Moſt

Moſt of the linens which are bleached at Haerlem in Holland, and afterwards are ſo well known under the name of *Dutch*, are made in Sileſia: formerly immenſe quantities were conſumed in England; but ſince the great ſucceſs which has attended the fabricks of Ireland and Scotland, this impolitic importation is come to nothing, and thereby vaſt ſums ſaved to Great-Britain.——At this place I leſſened my expences of travelling conſiderably, by paying off all my attendants, except my old Swiſs, Martin, who has rode through the beſt part of Europe with me.

The 16th I left Breſlaw, taking a poſt-chaiſe to Steinau, on the Oder: the diſtance thirty miles. This line of country is remarkably fine, fully cultivated, and in general well peopled. Landed property here is much divided: here and there is found an old baron's eſtate of great extent, around an old caſtle, with all the marks of antiquity and grandeur; but in general the lands belong to perſons enriched by trade and manufactures, which has had one excellent effect, that of diffuſing much more liberty among the peaſants than they have in other parts. Upon theſe eſtates the lands are let in farms, as in England, and the peaſants, not being vaſſals to tenants, are

hired in the manner of our day-labourers, which is the ſyſtem of all others the moſt beneficial. A common rent, in their farms, is from ſeven to eleven ſhillings an acre: wheat yields two quarters an acre; barley three; buck-wheat four: the flax grounds are all incloſed by ditches, and they reckon an acre that yields three pounds a very good one. They keep all their cattle in winter in houſes, and feed them with boiled cabbages and ſtraw. They lay moſt of the manure they make upon their cabbage grounds, in the culture of which plant they ſeem to be very attentive. They make great uſe of mud from the Oder as a manure, and value it ſo much, that they go ſeveral miles for it. They plough their land with oxen; the ſtructure of their ploughs is remarkable; they ſeem, from the height of the wheels, to be very well inſtructed in the doctrine of the lever.

The 17th I reached Grumberg, through forty-five miles of very indifferent road; dining at Glogau, a pretty town, agreeably ſituated on the Oder, very ſtrongly fortified, and always garriſoned with two thouſand men. It was anciently the reſidence of the dukes of Glogau, and there are remains of their palace in the caſtle. The cathedral is a very ancient and

and a fine building. They have ſome linen fabricks, and a good trade on the Oder. The country around it, and quite to Grumberg, is various, conſiſting of woods, arable, meadow, ſome waſte, and alſo ſome marſh land. The villages are not very thick, and the peaſants do not ſeem to be ſo well off as thoſe nearer to Breſlaw; what the reaſon is, I could not diſcover.

My next day's journey was thirty miles, through Croſſen to Frankfort on the Oder. Croſſen is the capital of a territory of the ſame name: it is a very well-built town, having been rebuilt after a great fire, which happened at the beginning of this century: the ſtreets are ſtrait, broad, and well paved: it is adorned with an handſome town-houſe, and five churches, one of which makes a good figure, being ſituated in the middle of a ſquare.

Frankfort is in Brandenburg, and was once one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the Empire, being an hanſe town, and an Imperial city; but it has loſt moſt of its privileges. It is divided into the old and new town by the Oder, over which there is a handſome bridge, inſtead of an old wooden one, which was burnt in the laſt war. The

ſtreets are handſome, and many of the houſes make a good figure, eſpecially thoſe which have been built ſince the laſt war. Their trade is conſiderable, both with Berlin, Hamburgh, the Baltic, and all Sileſia; and before the war raged in Poland, with that kingdom alſo; ſo that it is one of the richeſt places in the King's dominions. They have an univerſity, but it is not very well ſtocked with ſtudents of any conſequence, though they have two well-built colleges. The town-houſe is an handſome building; and the arſenal is large and well filled. The moſt agreeable part of the town is the great market-place, which is ſurrounded by the beſt houſes in the place.

The ſoil around Frankfort is ſandy, and not very well inhabited: there is much waſte land, which might be cultivated to good profit, conſidering the near neighbourhood of ſo many navigations, but encouragement ſeems to be wanting. I made many enquiries concerning the depredations of the Ruſſians here; and from the information I could get, I have reaſon to believe that the accounts we had in England were much exaggerated: they burnt ſome villages, and raiſed heavy contributions; but as to utterly deſtroying a whole track of country

country it was not true. Another circumſtance I ſhould remark, which is, the miſchief being all repaired which they did; for I have yet ſeen no ſigns of any of that ruin which fell from their hands: this is to be attributed to the good conduct of the King of Pruſſia, who, notwithſtanding the general ſeverity of his government, very wiſely favoured thoſe parts of his dominions that ſuffered moſt by war as ſoon as the peace was made.

The 18th carried me 36 miles to Berlin, through a continued track of ſand, yet tolerably cultivated in ſome parts, but much of it a dreary waſte, and very thinly peopled. They find that the only very profitable crop upon theſe ſands is buck-wheat, which they ſow in large quantities, and they get a product which equals the beſt ſoils applied to that grain: when a piece of land has been more carefully managed than ordinary, it will yield a good crop of rye; but as to wheat or barley, it is hardly to be ſeen.

As I deſigned to make ſome ſtay at Berlin I hired private lodgings; of which I had as good for fifteen ſhillings a week as would have coſt me five and thirty at London. But this city is not peopled proportionably to its

ſize; hence the general remark, that graſs is ſeen in the ſtreets, which is, however, only in one neglected quarter of the town; the other parts are very well built; the ſtreets are remarkably ſpacious, long, and well paved; and the buildings in general are ſuch as certainly rank it among the fineſt cities in Europe. Of the public edifices, thoſe which are uſually viſited by travellers are, the royal palace, the arſenal, the churches of Notre Dame, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, and the Romiſh chapel, the theatre, the equeſtrian ſtatue of Frederick the Firſt, &c. The palace is a magnificent but an unequal building, like all thoſe that are raiſed at different times: ſome of the apartments are large, and well proportioned; but they by no means anſwered my expectations, either in dimenſions, fitting up, or furniture. The immenſity of ſilver, remarked by Mr. Hanway when he was here, was all melted in the late war, and very little of it is reſtored. Much of the furniture, for a royal palace, is very mean; but this we are not to be ſurprized at, as the King gives his attention to ſo much greater objects. Some of the pictures are fine. The front of the arſenal would be very beautiful, but, as the above-mentioned traveller juſtly obſerves, it is profuſely loaded

loaded with ornaments. I viewed the contents, and was much entertained with them; for, very contrary to what is ſeen in moſt other buildings under this name, here are no uſeleſs arms, nothing but what is ready for immediate ſervice. The train is a very fine one. The theatre is in a moſt grand ſtile, admirably contrived to give much magnificence to the repreſentation of operas. A very few circumſtances excepted, it deſerves to be conſidered as a model for theſe buildings. The Romiſh chapel is a monſter of diſproportion, but the portico is elegant. The equeſtrian ſtatue of Frederick the Firſt is a fine performance; the horſe is remarkably fine, and there is much ſpirit in the attitude of the figure.

The fortifications of Berlin are regular; but the city is of too great extent to have any thing of ſtrength, if attacked by a powerful army. The number of inhabitants are reckoned at about an hundred thouſand. There is always a garriſon of from eight to twelve thouſand men in it. Charlottenburgh is a ſmall palace within a mile of Berlin; the rooms of which are ſmall, but very elegant; it contains nothing that appears very ſtriking to a traveller; the ball-room is handſome,

but

but much exceeded by many others. The gardens here, as well as at Potſdam, have nothing in them but regularity, which is diſguſting. Sans Souci is a detached apartment in a garden; but nothing of this ſort that I have ſeen abroad, is comparable to a number of places we have in England: nor do I think any of theſe palaces and boxes, in the neighbourhood of Berlin are tolerable in taſte: the only natural beauty they had was the river, and that is moulded into a canal for them: they have no verdure; the walks are ſand, and the ſituations in general flats.

There is a good deal of commerce carried on at Berlin, by means of the canals which join the Spree and the Oder, and the Oder and the Elbe; by which means there is a moſt advantageous communication with Hamburgh, the Baltick, and all Sileſia. This is of great conſequence to the manufactures of Berlin, which are numerous and flouriſhing: they have fabricks of ſilk, ſtuffs, woollen cloths of ſeveral ſorts, and in particular one which clothes moſt of the army; tapeſtry, laces, glaſs, a little hardware, &c. The King gives great encouragement to all manufactures, which has had a great effect in a place where he found many fabricks, fixed by French refugees

refugees after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, whose posterity now carry on the principal trade of the city. Berlin supplies Silesia with great quantities of these goods; and before the cival war raged in Poland, that kingdom took off much. They have a small export to the Baltic; formerly to Sweden, but that is now no more.

I was twice or thrice at court, more to see the King than for any other entertainment. I saw him about nine years ago, and was much surprized to find him so little altered. The immensity of fatigue, both of body and mind, which he went through during the last war, one would have apprehended, must have entirely broke him; but he has, by a regular way of life, and great abstemiousness, both then and since, prevented any ill effects. Bodily fatigue may be physick, and mental labour not very destructive, but anxiety is the destroyer, against which it is very difficult to guard: for several years the King was uncertain of his fate; victories had little effect, defeats were ruinous, and he could scarcely conjecture whether he was to be stripped of several provinces, or even his whole dominions. In such a situation, we may easily conceive that anxiety must commit great ravages on him;

him; and I muſt own myſelf ſurprized to ſee his health continue ſo good. His principal amuſement is exerciſing his troops; to ſee them, is one of the moſt entertaining ſights at Berlin. It is thought that the King himſelf has not ſo nice an eye as formerly to the *minutiæ* of the tactic, but his officers keep it up in the higheſt perfection. His army is at preſent more numerous, and better provided than ever; they do not fall ſhort of one hundred and forty thouſand men; and there is not a regiment in his ſervice that is not ready for marching: his whole army, artillery, baggage, and all attendants, could be in the field upon a week's notice at any time; his fortreſſes are all in better order than before the laſt war, and ſome places made of great ſtrength upon the frontiers of Sileſia, which never before were fortified at all. His treaſure is reported to be conſiderable, and he certainly is not encumbered with debts; for the laſt war, immenſe as it was to him, did not make him contract a ſhilling of debt, tho' it is certain his antagoniſt, the Queen of Hungary, anticipated many of her revenues. If all things are conſidered, it will appear very evident, that his power is better eſtabliſhed than ever, and that he has no proſpect

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of seeing another confederacy which will bear so hard upon him as the last. Austria will not be eager to attack him, after having failed, with every possible advantage on her side. If she could not wrest Silesia from him, when France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony were in alliance with her, and their power so actually brought to bear upon him, that he fought battles with them all; such a confederacy is not to be looked for in an age; and if it failed in its aim, that aim may be pronounced impracticable. Saxony it cannot be expected will unite again, unless it be with Prussia; but the situation of it considered, if it proves an enemy, it will be an enemy swallowed up as in the last war, and the country made to contribute amply to pay the expence of it. Russia will scarcely unite against the King, with whom she is now in close alliance; it would be extremely contrary to her interest. France will always be found in full employment by England; she will not quickly send armies against Prussia. The King therefore has the satisfaction of enjoying peace.

These are the ideas of the Berlin politicians, who all declare the peace will be lasting, from the great jealousy of Austria and Russia, either opposing or uniting with each other:

other: every party is ſtrongly armed, and looks on in ſilence, except Ruſſia, who, knowing her own ſtrength, and fearleſs of conſequences, carries on a moſt extenſive war with Turkey and in Poland.

The King's revenues amount at preſent to about a million and an half ſterling, a ſum which in England appears ſmall; but if the different value of money there, and in Brandenburg, be conſidered, and likewiſe the uncommon exertions of œconomy unequalled in any other court, this ſum, I am confident, is in the King's hands as good as four millions, perhaps as five in England. The land-tax throughout his dominions is regular, and equals about nine ſhillings in the pound: the crown lands yield a conſiderable rent, and are as well managed to profit as a private gentleman's eſtate. The cuſtoms are but a ſmall article; they are gathered in his ports on the Baltick and at Embden. The exciſe is general on all the neceſſaries of life, and riſes ſo high as forty per cent. Theſe taxes are very heavy; but ſuch is the regularity of his government, and ſo little oppreſſion is met with from miniſters and revenue-officers, that the people are beyond compariſon happier than in the dominions of Saxony, Auſtria,

ſtria, or Bavaria. Much of his ſucceſs in the late war was doubtleſs owing to the ſubſidy he received from England: the diſcontinuance of which, and the breaking off all connections between the two courts, ſtruck hard upon him; for it took him out of the hands of France, from whom he received a ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pounds a year, and left him without an equivalent from England. The treatment he received from the latter country, upon the change of that miniſtry which had conducted the war, made an impreſſion upon him much againſt England, of whom he has often expreſſed himſelf with ſome acrimony: what the reſult will be in future political arrangements is not eaſy to ſay; but if the connection continues between France and Auſtria, that between England and Pruſſia muſt, in the nature of things, be renewed; for when one part of Europe throws itſelf into an alliance offenſive to the reſt, a counter alliance muſt ever be formed, or all good ideas of politicks be abſolutely given up.

The 1ſt of June I left Berlin, and got to Britzen, the diſtance thirty miles: all which track of country is very ſandy, though tolerably populous, and ſome of it well cultivated.

tivated. They ſow much buck-wheat, and were now ploughing for turneps, which they ſow the middle of this month: and I believe this root and buck-wheat, with a very little rye, to be all the products theſe poor ſands yield, and yet they ſeem to be very well manured; for the countrymen houſe their cattle in winter, and raiſe by that means large quantities of dung, which they mix with a kind of ſtiff earth, which they dig from under the ſand; a compoſt which I ſhould ſuppoſe muſt agree extremely well with ſuch dry barren ſoils.

The 2d I advanced no further than Wittenburg, the diſtance only 15 miles. In this journey from Brandenburg to Saxony the ſoil changes almoſt immediately for the better, and the population of the country alſo. The ſoil is a good loam, which yields tolerable crops of wheat; they have alſo barley, and I remarked a few pieces of flax. Wittenburg was noted before the laſt war for its cloth manufactories, and for dying better than at any other place in the electorate; the latter buſineſs is yet found here, though not near ſo much as formerly; but moſt of its fabricks are removed to Berlin, ſo that the

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place has not been able to recover the ruin it met with in the war. Martin Luther's church is yet ſtanding, tho' three hundred years old, and has ſeen ſo many ſieges, cannonades, and bombardments, without any damage.

The 3d I went to Leipſick, the diſtance 30 miles, through a country naturally exceedingly fertile, but carries many marks of the miſeries of the late war. Moſt of it has been well cultivated, but upon riding into ſeveral fields, now in graſs, and whoſe appearance indicates wretched management, I found they had been arable ones within a few years; and upon making enquiries, I had ſeveral ſpots pointed out to me whereon ſtood ſmall villages, conſiſting of farm-houſes, now no more; and all the lands which belonged to them, and once yielded abundant crops of corn, are now little better than waſte and common foreſt land, whereon the tenants of the ſame landlord turn their cattle. This is not the caſe with two or three places, but continues for many miles; and is owing to the nobles, to whom the country belongs, having ruined themſelves with paying military contributions ſo often, that at laſt they had nothing to pay, when their buildings were burnt down, and themſelves left too poor to erect

new ones: this is generally the reaſon why the ſeat of war is ſo very injurious to a country; for nothing is ſo great an evil as land proper for cultivation, belonging to owners too poor to raiſe the buildings neceſſary for bringing it into culture. If the landlords of ſuch a country would allow every thing to be deſtroyed the firſt campaign, they would be reduced, it is true, but then they would be free from thoſe enormous debts which not only carry their ruin with them to the graves of ſuch as groan under them, but entail miſery upon their children.

Leipſick, the ſuburbs included, is one of the moſt conſiderable cities in this part of Germany, notwithſtanding its having ſuffered very ſeverely in the two laſt wars, and felt ſome heavy ſtrokes, which are not yet recovered: it has been the theatre of almoſt every war that has happened in Germany. In the famous one of thirty years it was very often taken and retaken by the Swedes and Imperialiſts; no leſs than five times in two years. It felt the weight of Charles XII's invaſion of Saxony, than whom there have been few more brutal invaders. And the two laſt wars ſucceeding each other very quickly, its trade and buildings much declined in

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them. The city itſelf is not an agreeable place, from the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and the height of the houſes, which riſe to eight or nine ſtories; but the ſuburbs are much more ſpacious and better built: they are alſo pleaſant, from the number of areas and gardens in them, and from the conflux of three ſmall rivers. They have not many publick buildings at Leipſick that much deſerve a ſtranger's attention; the beſt among them is St. Nicholas church, which is a very fine edifice. The town-houſe in an old but a good ſtructure; the exchange is another; and around the great market place are many houſes of private merchants which make an uncommon figure for buildings of that ſort; but there are ſeveral traders in the city that have made conſiderable fortunes, and before the laſt war there were treble the number; but the greateſt among them, upon the breaking out of it, removed themſelves and their effects to Hamburgh. The univerſity is one of the moſt famous in Germany, and much frequented by ſtudents of family and fortune; but this alſo declined much in the laſt war.

Trade is the ſoul of Leipſick: conſidering that it is an inland place, and without the advantage even of a navigable river, the great-

neſs of its commerce is very ſurprizing; but it is owing to its fairs, of which they have three very conſiderable ones every year. To them merchants bring or ſend goods of all ſorts from every part of Europe: all the manufactures of Germany, France, Italy, England, Holland, and Flanders are met with here: vaſt magazines are formed of Eaſt India goods of all ſorts; of Weſt India commodities; of wines, brandies, fruits, ſilk, hemp, flax, iron, and, in a word, all ſorts of products; and purchaſers reſort hither from every part of Germany and the North. Theſe fairs alſo carry off great quantities of the fabricks which are made at Leipſick, of which there are ſeveral ſorts; ſuch as ſilk, cotton and woollen manufactures, paper, gold and ſilver laces, &c. but all theſe ſuffered much from the laſt war; nor have they recovered themſelves to any thing like their former ſucceſs: indeed, I obſerved, in converſation with ſeveral merchants here, that they had all a diſtruſt that they were by no means ſecure from freſh viſits of the Pruſſians; and while this is the caſe (at which we cannot be ſurprized) it is not to be wondered that commerce and manufactures do not thrive. The injury the whole electorate ſuſtained

ſuſtained laſt war, in the deſtruction of its manufactures and trade, the ruin of its agriculture, and the decline of its population, was of an exceedingly great amount, and ſuch as cannot be recovered without the moſt unremitting attention, and political conduct of half a century; before which time it will probably ſee, in ſome cauſe or other, a renewal of its calamites. If theſe circumſtances are conſidered, with the oppreſſive government of all the German princes that have an abſolute authority, we ſhall have reaſon to wonder at any trade at all being found in Saxony.

The 6th I travelled thirty miles to Meiſſen, through the fineſt part of Saxony; and which, notwithſtanding the fury of the late war, is now a populous and a well cultivated country: there is a great deal of arable land, and very fine champain fields, covered with corn; many villages, and the people ſeemed to be active, and quite alive in their buſineſs. Part of the females were collected in ſmall knots in the villages, ſpinning wool; others drove the horſes and oxen that drew the ploughs: this employment of the women is an excellent ſign, where the men do not, in conſequence, indulge in idleneſs, which is the caſe in ſome countries. They cultivate a great deal of wheat and barley, and were now ſowing ſome

buck-wheat; but it is a grain for which their lands are too good, the pooreſt ſands will rival them: they cultivate turneps, cabbages, and alſo cabbages for feeding themſelves and their cattle: their herds are numerous; they feed them not only in their meadows, but alſo upon clover, of which I ſaw ſeveral large pieces, a thing I had not remarked of a long time. I enquired into their management of it; they ſow it with barley, and in the ſucceeding year either mow it twice for hay, thrice ſometimes; or elſe feed ſheep, young cattle, cows, oxen, and horſes upon it: the hay they prefer to meadow hay. They keep it two years upon the ground, and after that plough it up for any ſort of crop, but do not ſeem to conſider it as a peculiar preparation for wheat, which is the idea in England: it has not long been cultivated here, but ſpreads very faſt, from their finding the profit of it to be great. The lands here are cultivated by both the landlords and peaſants; the latter are, in general, farmers, and not of very little ſpots, but they are bound to apply a part of their time with their teams, &c. to cultivate thoſe parts of the eſtate which the landlord holds in his own hands, and which are uſually pretty conſiderable.

Meiſſen

Meiſſen is a little town, weakly fortified, but with a ſtrong caſtle on the Elbe: it is only remarkable (the Dreſden porcelane excepted) for a covered bridge of wood over that river: the cathedral I had been told was a fine building, with many fine electoral monuments in it, but I found it worthy of very little obſervation. The manufacture of porcelane was once more famous here than at any other place in Europe, but the laſt war almoſt ruined it: upon the King of Pruſſia's irruption into Saxony, moſt of the workmen and the materials were removed; but the war continuing ſo long, and Saxony remaining in the hands of the Pruſſians, ſome of the people died, and others were loſt; ſome the King of Pruſſia ſecured, and ſent them to Berlin, where he attempted to eſtabliſh a ſimilar manufactory, but he has executed nothing comparable to the old Dreſden pieces. Upon the eſtabliſhment of peace the works at Meiſſen were reſtored, and a freſh ſet of workmen, with ſome old ones, reſumed the manufactory: I have ſeen the beſt pieces they have made, and ſhall venture to aſſert, that the manufacture is loſt; for they are not, in the clearneſs of the white, to be compared with what they formerly made: as to fine painting, it is any where to be had, and there-

fore not peculiar to the Dreſden ware. This is a great loſs to the curious, and lovers of fine porcelane all over Europe; and the more ſo, as none of the numerous fabricks ſet up in England, France, or Holland, have come near equal to it.

The 17th I reached Dreſden, which is only fifteen miles from Meiſſen, through the moſt beautiful line of country I have ſeen in Germany: it is all hill and dale, corn, vines, and meadows along the banks of the Elbe, a continued picture: the river is every where ſeen to advantage, with the beautiful circumſtance of the banks being high and woody; a more entertaining pictureſque ſcene can hardly be viewed.

Dreſden, I can eaſily conceive, was, before the deſtruction of the ſuburbs, one of the fineſt cities in Europe; but the Pruſſians have much reduced its beauty, by burning down a great part of the moſt beautiful quarters of it. The old city is fortified in a regular manner; the baſtions are of ſtone, and there is a double ditch, but yet the ſtrength of it is nothing, unleſs the garriſon be very numerous. The river Elbe divides it into two cities, the old and the new. The bridge over that river, which is built of ſtone, is reckoned the fineſt in Germany; but no perſon who has

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ſeen that at Weſtminſter, will think there is either beauty or magnificence in it. It is five hundred and forty feet long, thirty ſix broad, and conſiſts of nineteen arches. The electoral palace is not a very ſtriking building for the beauties of architecture, but there are many very fine and ſpacious apartments in it very ſplendidly furniſhed; much of it done ſince the war; for ſome of the beſt furniture was ruined by the Pruſſians, and a vaſt number of curioſities carried off. The King, it is ſuppoſed, did not deſign to touch any thing, and no commander keeps a more regular diſcipline, but in ſo long a war ſo full of events, and thoſe remarkably ſevere, a place of curioſities muſt neceſſarily fare but badly. The ſtables form a magnificent building, being very ſpacious, and were once filled with ſome of the fineſt horſes in Germany, but many of the ſtalls are now unoccupied: indeed the revenues of the electorate ſuffered to ſo great a degree in the late war, that Dreſden has ever ſince exhibited a very different appearance; the court is no longer what it was; and all thoſe circumſtances which flow from great revenues, have ſunk proportionably to the decline which the Saxon income has experienced. No court in Germany was ſo profuſe, but there is an œconomy in it now, which

which promiſes a much happier adminiſtration of affairs than has been experienced in the two laſt.

The Romiſh chapel is one of the fineſt edifices at Dreſden: it is a well-proportioned and magnificent building, moſt highly ornamented: it was built for the private uſe of the late King and his court.

The chamber of curioſities hath yet a great many very beautiful models and toys, which cannot fail entertaining any traveller; and the collection, which they call the Kunts-kammar, which is chiefly of natural rarities, is equal to any thing that can be ſeen; but as the particulars of theſe things have been publiſhed by more than one traveller, I ſhall not ſwell theſe pages with a recital of them. The gallery of pictures is equal to moſt that are to be ſeen in Italy, and are kept in admirable preſervation. The pieces by Correggio are to be equalled no where but in Parma. A very magnificent work, containing plates of all the pictures in this gallery, was publiſhed at Dreſden, under the direct inſpection of the late King.

The Indian palace, of which ſeveral writers have given long accounts, is, in my opinion, a very ſilly affair; and by no means even elegant. Count Bruhl's famous palace ſuffered

fered moſt ſeverely in the war, at which nobody was concerned, from the foundation of all his grandeur being laid in the miſeries of the Saxons, and from his being the principal plotter and adviſer of that war, which ruined his maſter. The picture gallery is one of the fineſt rooms I have any where ſeen.

From the beſt accounts I could get while at Dreſden, the decline in all the affairs of conſequence throughout the government of Saxony, upon account of the late war, is much greater than has been thought by ſome authors who have written lately. Before the war, the revenues of the electorate, by means however of very great oppreſſion, amounted to a million and an half ſterling; but I was aſſured, that they do not at this day, although near ſeven years of peace have intervened, riſe to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, and yet the government is burthened with a very heavy debt. Saxony, before the war, contained near two millions of people; it has not now much above one. In Dreſden were an hundred and ten thouſand people, but at preſent it would be difficult to find half the number; ſuch ſtrong marks of decline are not to be miſtaken, they ſhew the ſeverity of the late war in the moſt ſtriking colours; and prove clearly,

clearly, that if it had continued much longer, the whole electorate would have been made a desart.

The present government conducts all things in a very sensible and political manner: they find the wretched state of the country will admit of nothing but an œconomy, which has not been practised in this country for a long while: the people see and know the public distress, and do not repine at the taxes they are forced to pay, as did all when the amount was squandered by Count Bruhl, and the King, in cloaths, toys, and gewgaws. Only fifteen thousand regular troops are kept up, but they have five or six thousand militia regularly disciplined. This is certainly acting with prudence; for the whole country is so impoverished, that if they raised by taxes a revenue to do otherwise, it must be by the ruin of the people. They mnst have time, not only to recruit their losses, but also their numbers. The soil is in general fertile, and the Saxons are industrious enough to bring it into culture, if they have time given them, without making even peace itself too burthensome by taxation, and without hurrying them into another war, which could not fail of being ruinous to the whole electorate. Some encouragement has been given to agriculture

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and manufactures ſince the peace, particularly by an exemption from taxes in certain caſes wherein they would be extremely burthenſome: but the eſſential foundation of tolerable cultivation, or activity in carrying on fabricks, is wanting, which is wealth, or at leaſt eaſy circumſtances in the undertakers; but this electorate the Pruſſians exhauſted to ſo great a degree, that they left ſcarcely any wealth in it: the lands are in the hands of nobility ſo reduced that they can ſcarcely live; much leſs are able to carry on improvements in the manner requiſite at preſent for being effectual in reviving huſbandry in their country: and when this is the caſe, ſuch a renovation muſt be left to common cauſes, the increaſe of the people, and of induſtry among the lower claſſes, which is always of moſt ſlow operation.

The amazing difference of the event of the war to Brandenburg and Saxony is ſtriking: the latter is ſo ruined and exhauſted, as to lye almoſt at the mercy of any invader; without people, trade, revenues, or forces, on a compariſon with what all thoſe articles were before the war: on the contrary, the King of Pruſſia is in poſſeſſion of as great an income as ever; a finer army than when he began the war: his dominions ſuffered indeed, but the

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wounds ſeem to have been but ſkin-deep: certainly his country was not made the ſeat of war, in the manner he made that of the Elector of Saxony. The contraſt indeed is ſo ſtriking, that if ever a new war breaks out between Pruſſia and Auſtria, Saxony moſt undoubtedly will not join the latter.

The 12th I ſet out from Dreſden, and got to Leutmeritz, in Bohemia, in two days, paſſing through Pirna, and by the famous caſtle of Koningſtein. Pirna is a little place among the mountains, and Koningſtein is a caſtle ſituated on the top of a rock, three hundred feet high, and half a mile in circumference. The way to it is ſo difficult, that a company is ſufficient to defend it againſt an army. In it is a well above ſixteen hundred feet deep, which ſupplies the garriſon with water. In the labyrinth of theſe rocks and mountains the King of Pruſſia caught the Saxon army and made them priſoners. The country is in general very wild and romantic, and the views of the Elbe running through ſuch a region of mountains extremely groteſque. There are ſome vineyards planted upon ſouthern ſpots of theſe mountains, where the grapes ripen tolerably, but the wine is not drinkable to thoſe who have been uſed to that which is good.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Journey acroſs Bohemia—Prague—Deſcription of the country—The people—Nobility—Huſbandry—Manufactures—Moravia—Olmutz—Brinn—Journey to Vienna—Deſcription of the capital.

LEUTMERITZ is a ſmall town in Bohemia, ſituated on the river Elbe; it has ſome fortifications, but none of any great ſtrength: near this place the King of Pruſſia gained a great victory over the Auſtrians in the laſt war. The neighbouring country was ſeveral times the ſeat of war, and ſuffered much: part of the miſchiefs done are not yet recovered; for there are ſeveral tracks of land, belonging to a Bohemian nobleman, who reſides at Vienna, which were once arable, but are now over-run with graſs and weeds, and ſtill have not near a ſtock of cattle proper for the land; and ſome villages are of a very poor appearance, with ſeveral houſes almoſt burnt down, that have not yet been repaired. The country that is cultivated does not ſeem to be managed in an able manner,

ner, and the peaſants are much worſe treated than they are in Saxony.

The 18th I reached Prague, the capital of Bohemia, and one of the largeſt cities in Europe. The country through which the road runs is various; much of it is of a fruitful ſoil, and tolerably cultivated in ſome parts, but there are in every track many marks of bad huſbandry and inattention, greatly owing, I ſuppoſe, to a want of induſtry, and partly to the oppreſſion which the peaſants experience. They have ſome tolerable crops of wheat, but I never ſaw worſe barley, or any corn more full of weeds; and they value it ſo little, that on various pieces of barley and peaſe I ſaw cattle feeding, which made me enquire if they were ſown with intention to be eat green; but that was not the caſe, it is a mere inſtance of ſtupid neglect. I obſerved one or two pieces of flax, which looked very well. The winter food of their cattle is principally the cabbage turnep, and red cabbage, which they cultivate in large quantities. I ſaw ſeveral young plantations of them, but they do not ſeem to manage them well.

Prague is very well ſituated on the river Muldaw; it is divided into two cities by that river. The fortifications are regular, and much

much ſuperior to what they were before the laſt war; but the city is of ſo great an extent that it requires an army to defend it. It ſuffered very much by the ſiege it ſtood in the beginning of the war againſt the King of Pruſſia, who cannonaded and bombarded it in ſo ſevere a manner, that not many buildings eſcaped; whole quarters were beat down, or burnt, and I was ſhewn ſeveral very large gardens and young orchards, which before that ſiege were entirely covered with houſes, and the people are too poor to rebuild them in a place where there are yet more houſes than are occupied: ſcarcely any of the publick buildings eſcaped damage at the ſame ſiege. The univerſity is one of the moſt famous in Germany, and has a vaſt number of ſtudents; the people at Prague talk of five thouſand; what they might be formerly I know not, but at preſent they are ſhort of three thouſand. In 1409, when John Huſs was rector, it is a fact that there were thirty thouſand ſtudents here. The Jeſuits college is one of the fineſt buildings in the city, but it ſuffered by ſeveral unlucky cannon balls, and is not thoroughly repaired. The bridge, which joins the old and the new town, is fifteen hundred and eighty feet long, by thirty broad, and has ſeventeen arches, and

is all of ſtone; it is a ſolid edifice, has nothing of elegance in it; and when a traveller hears that it was an hundred and fifty years a building, he will ſuppoſe it muſt have been in an age extremely poor, or been undertaken by a prince of little ſpirit. The fineſt edifices in the world are rarely thoſe which were ſo long in raiſing. St. Peter's at Rome is an inſtance againſt me; but St. Paul's at London, and the bridge at Weſtminſter, are ſtrong ones in my favour, and many more might be quoted. The royal palace, and the cathedral, are very mean buildings, and contain ſcarcely any thing worthy of notice. What at Prague are much the beſt worth ſeeing, are the palaces of the nobility; ſome of which are very noble edifices, that would make a great figure in the beſt built cities of Italy; ſeveral of them are of very great ſize, with moſt ſpacious apartments, and very magnificent furniture. Thoſe of the princes Lobcowitz, and Iſcharnan, and the counts Gala, Straka, Czaſlaw, and Manſtein, deſerve particular attention; they contain many apartments that are worthy of ſovereign princes, but the number of very good pictures is trifling.

Moſt of the Bohemian nobility, who are a numerous body, keep their reſidence in winter at Prague, and in ſummer on their eſtates.

None

None of them resort to Vienna, but such as are in office in the court, which is a very uncommon instance. It is their presence in this city that alone supports it: for without their resort, and the garrison, which is generally pretty numerous, the city would be a desart, being utterly destitute of both trade and manufactures: the university does something, but not much. All the lower classes here are poor; the burghers are treated by the nobles very contemptuously, to a degree not common elsewhere: if the place was ever so well situated for trade, or manufacture, this would be a sure means of damping their progress.

The 16th I left Prague, and went to Nymburg, a small town twenty five miles distant; the country various, but much of it pretty tolerably cultivated, rather better than the track to the north of Prague. The peasants are treated in a wretched manner; they have hovels of the worst sort to live in, little better than those in Westphalia, being loose stones laid on one another for the walls, and the crevices filled with mud, and the covering some strong poles, with turf spread on them, and a hole at top in the middle is all the chimney that any of them have; adjoining is their barn, built of the same materials, in which they stow their little corn, and keep their

cattle in winter; each cottage has a few acres of land around it, with a cow or two, and a miſerable pair, either of horſes or oxen, for ploughing their land. In general, Sunday is the only day in the week which they are allowed for cultivating this land, in order to raiſe proviſions for ſubſiſting on the whole week; but in ſeed-time and harveſt their lords indulge them with another. When I ſpeak therefore of the huſbandry of the country, I do not mean of the peaſants, nor of the farmers, for there is ſcarcely any ſuch thing, but of the nobility, and other landlords, who all cultivate their own eſtates by means of their agents and ſtewards. The peaſants in every reſpect reſemble nearly thoſe of Poland, than whom they are not favoured more.

At firſt ſight it may appear, that landlords, who act upon this ſyſtem, muſt make far more of their eſtates than thoſe who lett them in the Engliſh manner to farmers, becauſe here the profit of the farmer is conſolidated with that of the landlord; but, from the repeated obſervations which I have often had occaſion of making, I am convinced that the caſe is the very contrary. If any eſtate was only of ſuch a ſize as to form a good farm it would be very true; but eſtates are thus cultivated

tivated whose extent is from twenty to thirty thousand acres of cultivated land, either meadow, pasture, arable, sheep-walk, or woods, all in some culture or other, and a vast track arable. To be forced to cultivate such immense farms, they are obliged to have swarms of bailiffs and agents. In every place where a farm-house should be is a bailiff's house, who manages a certain track of land. Thus the landlord is at the monstrous expence of stocking his whole estate, and running all the chances of that stock, and at the same time has to keep as many bailiffs as if they were farmers, and who all live out of the land before he has his clear profit, as much as if they were farmers; with this great distinction, that being merely servants they have little interest in the success of their husbandry, and consequently the master suffers all the usual inconveniences of such a situation: his agents of all sorts cost him as much as farmers would make for themselves, supposing them honest; and if they turn out otherwise, a great deal more. Thus he gets none of the farmers profit, at the same time that he loses the interest of all the money employed in stocking, and bears the chances to which that stock is liable. From which state of the affair I think it is very evident, how

much more beneficial it is to lett out an eſtate to farmers, for them to find the ſtock, cultivate the land, and employ the peaſants, not only in mere profit of the year, but with a view to future improvements, which muſt always be conducted with far more effect by the people who work for their own intereſt, than by others who do it for a maſter; and a maſter perhaps who is always abſent, or, if preſent, who underſtands nothing of the matter. What great improvements have been made in England by tenants, who enjoy the benefit during their leaſe, and then pay a freſh rent to their landlords on account of thoſe very improvements! In population alſo the prince would reap a very great benefit; for when men are working for themſelves, their induſtry will be very different from that of ſervants; and in proportion to the general induſtry, muſt population be: the peaſants would likewiſe meet with leſs oppreſſion, and conſequently increaſe more.

They ſow a good deal of wheat in this line of country, but their principal crop is barley. I obſerved many plantations of hops in the warm vales, where the ſoil is rich and deep: it is a common culture in moſt parts of Bohemia, I am told; and when the ſpot choſen for a hop-garden is ſuitable, they find it more profitably

profitably applied than for any other crop. Beer is a very great article of trade throughout the kingdom, much being exported to all the ſurrounding countries; this makes barley and hops particularly advantageous. Saffron is another crop, which I ſaw now and then: they prefer a light, dry loam on a ſtratum of rock for it; they think it very profitable; an acre of good ſaffron is worth about three pounds here. Turneps and cabbages they have in large quantities for the winter ſupport of their cattle: they prefer the latter in general: I ſaw many crops ſomewhat advanced in growth, but they do not ſeem to be attentive to keeping them free from weeds.

The 17th I reached Leutmyſſel, at the diſtance of forty-five miles, paſſing through two or three pretty towns upon the banks of the Elbe. This country is more beautiful than the preceding, and of a richer ſoil; in ſome parts there are hills, but not ſo great as to be unprofitable land, while the vales form ſome very rich arable and meadow land; moſt of which is pretty well cultivated, under wheat, barley, and beans, which are much ſown here: wheat yields from two, to two and an half quarter per acre; barley ſomething more; beans four quarters; they chooſe for theſe their ſtiffeſt wet ſoils. They feed on their mea-

dows large herds of cows and oxen, and keep many ſheep, but do not manufacture the wool; moſt of it is ſold to Sileſia and Saxony, both of which are much more induſtrious countries: They work up however ſome of their own flax into the ſame ſort of linens as are made in Sileſia, which is an employment of the poor people in many of the little towns in this kingdom; their earnings at this work are very ſmall; a weaver in Sileſia will earn about three and ſixpence a week, but in Bohemia not more than half a crown; but proviſions of all ſorts are very cheap in both theſe countries. I ſaw two or three country ſeats belonging to noblemen; they are all built in the caſtle form, with a moat round, and ſeem to be extremely ſpacious: a nobleman of great fortune in this country has ſeldom leſs than two or three hundred ſervants about him, when at his caſtle in the country; and he is an abſolute monarch upon his eſtate, with power over every thing but life and death, and the royal revenue officers. This kind of dominion over all the lower claſſes flatters the vanity and pride of the great, more than the amount of the advantages they would gain by the peaſants being free: it is like the contraſt of abſolute authority to the limited power poſſeſſed by ſome kings; the latter makes

makes their people happy and rich, and might have the same effect upon themselves, qut they are all hunting after the former.

The 18th I got to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia, the distance forty miles, crossing the mountains which separate the two countries; these are not very lofty, nor craggy, but they fill a track of country of several miles broad; they exhibit a wild territory, but little of which is cultivated: the peasants that inhabit these hills are a rough intractable set of men, that will not submit to the oppressions under which their brethren of the plains groan; they have been often in rebellion, not against the sovereign, but the lords to whom they are vassals; they are, in many respects, treated much better, and their houses and little farms make a much better appearance; they have more and better cattle; some of them are in possession of small pieces of land which they have purchased, and all are extremely tenacious of this kind of property; they do not work for their masters more than three days in a week. It is always to be remarked, that the gradations of freedom are ever to be found in mountainous countries; in general such are free; but even under absolute monarchs they enjoy more liberty, than the subjects of the same prince who inhabit plain

plain countries. To live in hilly countries requires more activity and vigour of body; the very moving from one place to another is laborious; the cold and bluſtering climates found in them contribute to bracing up the human body, and to make it hardy. It hath the ſame effect as is ſeen in cold climates, compared with hot ones, in whatever parts of the world they may be found. After the mountains are paſſed that ſeparate the two countries, I went through a great extent of foreſt and marſh land, very little of which is cultivated; and not much of it would pay for culture, unleſs the country in general was richer than it is.

Olmutz is a ſmall but very well built city, prettily ſituated on the little river Moravia. It is a ſtrong place both by nature and art; ſo that the King of Pruſſia, when he made the famous irruption into Moravia, and laid ſiege to it, did not ſeem to have had good intelligence of the ſtate of the town, or the garriſon. The ſtreets are regular and well paved, and there are many good houſes in it; the only public buildings of any note are the Jeſuits college, the biſhop's palace, and the town-houſe; the market place is ſurrounded by ſeveral well built houſes. It is an agreeable town, and the inhabitants ſeem to be a very ſociable people,

people, with more activity and induſtry than is to be found among the Bohemians. Proviſions are very cheap here: I lived at the Empreſs's Arms inn two days upon exceeding good fiſh and fowl, and good Hungarian wine; and when I paid my reckoning, I found that ſix ſhillings went to the full as far as a guinea in England. Beef is only three half pence a pound; mutton is ſometimes ſold at a penny; and a fat turkey is to be bought for fourteen pence.

The 21ſt I left Olmutz, and proceeded to Brinn, the diſtance thirty miles, through a much more fertile country than north of Olmutz; it is better peopled, and much more of it cultivated: they do not ſow much wheat here, but a great deal of rye, barley, peaſe, and beans and the crops in general carried a good appearance: they keep great herds of cattle, feeding them in winter on cabbages, turneps, and ſtraw; all the latter, which they give to their cattle, they cut almoſt as ſmall as chaff, with an engine made on purpoſe, very different from the chaff-cutter uſed in England. They chop the turneps or cabbages into ſmall pieces, and give them with chopt ſtraw, and find that they go much the farther, and nouriſh the cattle much better. I never heard of any thing of this ſort being

being practiſed in England; yet I ſhould apprehend that it could not fail of anſwering extremely; it is certainly much worth the trial. They have vaſt herds of ſwine, which find their own ſubſiſtance in woods, and ſwampy grounds, for moſt part of the year. They fatten them on beans, peaſe, and potatoes, which they cultivate on purpoſe; ſending great quantities of bacon to Vienna, &c.

Brinn is well ſituated on the confluence of two rivers, and is reckoned the ſtrongeſt place in Moravia; it has a caſtle that is very ſtrong; the Auſtrians have uſually a good garriſon here; ſeveral new fortifications have been added, both to this place and to Olmutz, ſince the laſt war, which I ſuppoſe were occaſioned by the King of Pruſſia's bold march into this country, which alarmed them exceſſively at Vienna. There are about ſix thouſand inhabitants in Brinn; the ſtreets are narrow and crooked, but many of the houſes very well built, and ſome of the public edifices make a tolerable appearance, particularly the Jeſuits college, and the churches of St. James and St. Thomas.

The 22d I reached Laba, a little town thirty miles from Brinn; the country between them is better than the preceding; has leſs waſte land, fewer foreſts and marſhes; and the

the arable land beyond compariſon better cultivated: this is in a great meaſure owing to the attention given to huſbandry improvements by the court of Vienna. They were at the expence ſome years ago of bringing ſeveral Flemiſh farmers from the country between Oſtend and Bruges; three of them were ſettled in this country, being ſupplied with all ſorts of implements, cattle, houſes, land, &c. by the Empreſs Queen, and fixed upon ſome waſte but very fertile lands belonging to the crown. They have had a large ſucceſſion of Moravian peaſants regularly working under them, in order to be inſtructed in the Flemiſh huſbandry; who being diſcharged when freſh ones are taken have much ſpread ſeveral excellent cuſtoms, and will in all probability much improve the agriculture of the greateſt part of the province. The effect has already been very conſiderable; for though theſe Flemings do not occupy a thouſand acres of land in all, yet their methods already ſpread over a country near fifteen miles long; all the huſbandry of which is by their means much improved. They have introduced clover here, which turns out one of the moſt beneficial crops that can be ſown; they have alſo made this culture of clover a preparation for wheat, ſo that they have almoſt entirely baniſhed

baniſhed the cuſtom of fallowing for wheat, which was the common method in Moravia. Spurry they alſo brought with them, with which they fed cows. To them likewiſe the Moravians are indebted for a much more ſyſtematic management of manure than what they formerly followed: They form compoſts of dung, rotten vegetables, vaſt quantities of leaves, ſwept up on purpoſe in the open foreſts, turf, aſhes, and other materials, which they mix together ſeveral times, and ſpread upon their clover fields, and on their cabbage grounds. They have alſo made them abundantly more attentive in keeping all their crops clear from weeds, and in good order, by hoeing and weeding; all the cabbages I ſaw in this diſtrict, which has been profited thus from the example of the Flemings, were in very fine order, both in reſpect to pulverized ſoil, and a clearneſs from weeds.

I ſaw the caſtle of baron Skulitz, who had been extremely attentive in ſpreading this good Flemiſh huſbandry. He reſides conſtantly on his eſtate, and makes agriculture not only his buſineſs but alſo his amuſement. Immediately on their exhibiting a culture ſuperior to the old management of the Moravians, he followed it with ſo much intelligence and ſpirit, that he has advanced the va-

lue

lue of his eſtate conſiderably: he entered preſently into all their views, and introduced the beſt huſbandry of the Auſtrian provinces upon his own lands. Falling into diſcourſe on the road with one of his bailiffs, he pointed out to me ſeveral large tracks of land, which not long ago were entirely waſte, but are now by this worthy nobleman's attention better cultivated than moſt of the province. He has introduced various new branches of huſbandry, which anſwer better than common crops; among theſe, hops and ſaffron he brought from Bohemia; madder from Sileſia; and he raiſes both hemp and flax in large quantities: all theſe crops he is remarkably attentive to, and gives them ſuch uncommon fair play, that his firſt trials, contrary to what is generally met with, turned out greatly ſucceſsful; from whence he has been induced to continue them ever ſince, and greatly to enlarge all his plantations of them; by which, and various other means, he has improved his revenues in a ſurpriſing manner.

The owners of extenſive landed eſtates, in poor countries, have all ſuch an opportunity of increaſing their income, that it is very amazing they do not oftener take advantage of it. If, like the nobleman here mentioned, they

they would reſide upon their eſtates, inſtead of ſpending all their time in the capital, ſquandering their revenues in a gulf of luxury, the meaſure of which is never full, and which cannot fail of impoveriſhing them, and bringing them into the moſt ſlaviſh dependence upon the will of the court: if they would act thus, they would find money flow into their coffers in a far greater abundance than they can ever hope to receive from the ſmiles of miniſters, at the ſame time that they would reſide where a ſhilling goes as far as a pound. In the profuſion of a capital, the greateſt eſtates are ſpent without making any unuſual figure; but in the country, half the income would enable them to build and furniſh coſtly palaces, and raiſe whole cities around them to be witneſſes of their ſplendor. —I have, in the courſe of my travels, met with ſeveral inſtances which ſhew, in the cleareſt light, the enjoyment and undoubted happineſs which this kind of life confers, even upon noblemen, whoſe rank and revenue would allow them all the amuſements of any metropolis. It is a moſt happy thing to any country, when a ſovereign gives all the encouragement in his power to promote this rural attention in nobles, which cannot fail of

of turning out highly beneficial to the whole community.

The 23d I got to Vienna, which is five-and-twenty miles from Laba, through a country that is very unequal, part of it being very rich, populous, and well cultivated, and much of it hilly, wild, and to appearance barren. In the cultivated tracks are many noblemen's ſeats; and the huſbandry around them is viſibly much better than elſewhere, which is owing to their drawing the peaſants, as it were, into a ſtring around them. They plant great quantities of ſaffron, which they reckon the moſt profitable crop they have: they have alſo plenty of good crops of wheat and barley; and their extenſive meadows and paſtures feed large herds of cattle, which, from the neighbourhood of Vienna, turn to very good account. I ſaw ſeveral crops of the turnep cabbage for cattle. But huſbandry ſuffers much in all this country, and indeed through moſt parts of Germany, for want of incloſures: they might eaſily make them, and at a ſmall expence, but neglect the work entirely, which muſt be for want of fully underſtanding the advantages of them: indeed, labour is of ſo little value, that every ſort of cattle has always a keeper with them, tho'

the herd is ever ſo ſmall, yet corn and ſaffron often ſuffer.

Vienna is ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the Danube, but has not the advantage of that great river running through it; for it ſtands on a ſmall branch of it, there being ſeveral iſlands formed here, by the river dividing itſelf. If the ſuburbs are included, it is a very large city, but within the walls and fortifications it is only three miles in circumference. It is regularly fortified, but has ſo few outworks as to be a place of ſmall ſtrength, and only defended by a ſmall army. At the ſiege in 1683 the Turks ſhewed themſelves to be extremely ignorant in the art of conducting ſuch an enterprize; and their engineers were miſerable ones, elſe they might have taken the city ſome time before the King of Poland raiſed the ſiege; and had that event happened, Hungary had now been in poſſeſſion of the Ottomans.

Vienna within the walls makes a moſt inelegant appearance, from the narrowneſs of the ſtreets. I am one who would not give ſixpence for a fine building, if there is not a ſufficient area to view it from. The Engliſh boaſt of the church of St. Paul's at London, and will ſometimes aſſert it equal to St. Peter's at Rome; but if it were doubly finer, I ſhould prefer

prefer St. Peter's from the opportunity one has of viewing it; and the area around a great building ought to be ſo much eſteemed a part of it as to be criticiſed with it; and the architect's abilities called in queſtion for faults in it, as much as if he blundered in the proportion of the cupola. Thus in Vienna there are many palaces (of which I had read and heard much) in ſtreets as narrow as old Briſtol; and at the ſame time all the houſes are five, ſix, ſeven, and ſome of them eight ſtories high; and it is ſaid they have almoſt as many ſtories of cellars under ground as of floors above. Formerly all the windows were grated with iron bars, like priſons, from the ſtreet to the upper floor, and vaſt numbers of houſes are ſo now; but I ſee it is left off in the principal palaces.

The imperial palace is a ſtructure that will anſwer to none that ſees it; it conſiſts of ſeveral courts, ſurrounded with irregular buildings; though, notwithſtanding ſome late additions, it makes but a very mean appearance; their apartments are neither ſpacious, nor furniſhed in a manner one would expect, for a court long famed as one of the moſt expenſive in Europe. The library is ſuppoſed to rank among the firſt in Europe; the number of

volumes are not leſs than ninety thouſand; and the collection of manuſcripts ſuppoſed to be extremely valuable. I was ſhewn ſeveral great curioſities, but upon theſe occaſions there never is time allowed for any uſeful examination; and if they were, it would ſignify little to the unlearned in the oriental tongues, in which the moſt valuable manuſcripts are written.

Many of the palaces of the nobility are moſt magnificent ſtructures; that of the great Eugene, with his famous library and collections, I had moſt pleaſure in viewing: the Mansfield palace, and that of Count Daun, are alſo great edifices, with ſeveral others, in which the painting, gilding, carving, and furniture, are as rich as poſſible.

The univerſity of Vienna is very famous in Germany and Hungary; the number of ſtudents is conſiderable, and they have good accommodations for thoſe of fortune, and many valuable privileges.

There is not much worth ſeeing in the churches of Vienna; the cathedral is the principal, and it is a large building; but nothing is uncommon in it but the heighth of its ſpire, which, ſince Straſburg is become French, is the higheſt in the empire. The Jeſuits church is a fine building; and the convents of Carmelites,

Carmelites, Franciſcans, Benedictines, and Auſtin Friars, are viſited by thoſe who take any delight in viewing theſe ſort of buildings; for my part, I have an averſion at ſeeing ſuch uſeful edifices filled with tribes of pernicious orders of lazy prieſts, who do nothing to gain their livelihood, but are maintained by the induſtry of every body elſe. It is amazing that Roman Catholic princes do not find out that every monk in their dominions might be a ſoldier, without the country ſuffering a whit the more: and in many caſes the ſoldier would pay well for his maintenance; but as to the monk, he is ſubſiſted in the moſt unuſeful of all ſpecies of idleneſs. But there are other inſtances of the catholic piety of Vienna beſides her monks and nuns; in one of the ſquares is a very large and coſtly ſtatue of the Trinity, repreſenting the Deity claſping Chriſt in his arms, and the Holy Ghoſt hovering over them. This was erected by the Emperor Leopold, inſtead of an equeſtrian ſtatue, which, in other cities, would have been erected to the ſovereign. To this famous piece of folly all the Roman Catholics bow as they paſs. Religious prejudices ſhould certainly be laid aſide by all travellers; but is it poſſible for a man of ſenſe not to rejoice, that education has not enſlaved him to

an obſervance of, or veneration for ſuch mummery? In many inſtances, religion makes Roman Catholic countries extremely diſagreeable.

I brought ſeveral letters of recommendation to Vienna, to perſons from whoſe converſation I expected ſome valuable information, concerning the general ſtate of all the Auſtrian dominions at preſent, in reſpect of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, revenues, and military power, but I was ſtrangely diſappointed; there is a haughty reſerve in every man of the leaſt conſequence here, which not only precludes any information of this ſort, but at the ſame time renders a reſidence in any but a public character very diſagreeable at Vienna. But after all my letters had failed, that is, introduced me only to people who thought that I had no buſineſs with any thing but eating, drinking, going to court, and playing at cards, a life by no means agreeable to me; after this, I fell accidentally into company with a field-officer in their ſervice, a native of Milan: this gentleman was extremely communicative, very ſenſible, and had travelled often through moſt of the dominions of the Empreſs Queen. He gave me a very rational and candid account of things, as appeared by his manner, and

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the confirmations I had afterwards from ſeveral perſons in other parts of Europe. To agriculture this gentleman had not at all attended; he could give me no more account of its general ſtate in the countries he had been in, than with that of the moon. I found from him, however, that the manufactures which have lately been eſtabliſhed in Hungary flouriſh very much; the Empreſs Queen and her miniſters have long been eager to cloath her troops with her ſubjects manufactures, inſtead of ſelling all their wool unmanufactured. Hungary, as well as Auſtria, Bohemia, and Moravia, feed many ſheep, eſpecially Hungary, a great part of which is a continued and fertile ſheep-walk. Great number of Hungarians have been ſet to work upon this wool; and weavers, ſpinners, reelers, &c. brought from Flanders, to teach the natives to work it; and many of them have proved very docile in learning: ſo that at preſent, woollen goods are made to the amount of near an hundred thouſand pounds a year, which is a very great thing in Hungary; where, before theſe exertions, were no manufactures at all. They are eſtabliſhed in moſt of the populous towns of that kingdom; and if they are brought to employ the poor people in them, who have no other em-

ployment, it will be an immenſe acquiſition, and ſave the export of very great ſums of money. As to trade, the inland ſituation of the Auſtrian dominions is ſuch as allows of very little foreign commerce. Attempts were made at Trieſt, but they were ſo languid, and ſuffered ſuch interruptions during the war, that the commerce of the port is yet nothing that deſerves mentioning, notwithſtanding that an active prince, liberal in uſeful expence, and attentive to ſuch improvements, might have made Trieſt the ſeat of a conſiderable commerce; but all theſe circumſtances have been wanting.

The revenues of the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria are conſiderable; the following account of them was given to this gentleman by a perſon who had many opportunities of being well informed.

Bohemia	£ 700,000
Moravia	190,000
Hungary	400,000
Auſtria	400,000
Tranſilvania	50,000
Sclavonia and Croatia	100,000
Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola	200,000
Tyrol, Brixen, Trent	160,000
The countries of Swabia	20,000

The

The Netherlands	150,000
Milan and Mantua	400,000
Tuſcany	500,000
Total	£ 3,270,000

What degree of accuracy there is in this table I am not able to aſcertain; but from the information I have received from other hands, I believe the total to be near the truth; but Tuſcany muſt not be reckoned. The common idea at Vienna coincides with theſe particulars which makes the Imperial revenue near three millions; though there are ſome ſanguine politicians who inſiſt on its amounting to five, but that is much exaggerated. The revenues of all theſe countries might be very much improved; nobody doubts, but a better ſyſtem of taxation, and a more œconomical collection, would raiſe five millions, with very near as much eaſe to the people as three at preſent; but the lower claſſes of the people, throughout moſt of theſe dominions, are miſerably fleeced and pillaged, while the nobility eſcape with paying a much leſs proportion than they ought. The Netherlands might in particular yield a very conſiderable revenue, and prove the fineſt and moſt profitable provinces

vinces belonging to the houſe of Auſtria; but in order to that, great changes ſhould be made in the conſtitutions of the cities; manufactures ſhould receive encouragement, and commerce be re-eſtabliſhed in the ports; all which might be eaſily done, and the revenues of the ſovereign become wonderfully improved; whereas, at preſent they yield no more than might be expected if they were ſituated no better than Auſtria, or Moravia, inſtead of being the fineſt ſpot in Europe in every reſpect, and inhabited by a people naturally as induſtrious as any in the world. Flanders, ſince the Dutch were maſters of the navigation to Antwerp has wanted a port; but Oſtend, for an hundred thouſand pounds, might be made as good a one as any in Europe for merchantmen.

The many improvements which have been talked of by the court of Vienna for the hereditary dominions, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, were they put in execution, would at the ſame time much improve the revenue, and in a manner free the country of thoſe evils which uſually flow from increaſing the public income of a crown. But there is a dilatorineſs and a languor in every thing tranſacted at this court, even in its own moſt intricate concerns, that damp the ſpirit of

of all improvement; so that any object of this sort, upon a moderate computation, will be talked of half a century before it is executed: this was the case with the establishment of the woollen manufacture in Hungary, and with every thing else, so that it is not thought the Austrian revenues, however they would admit of it, will for a long time be put upon a better footing than they are, or have any other improvements than what results from oppressing the lower classes of the people still more; than which, no measure can give a greater stab to all general national improvements. Was the King of Prussia possessed of the Austrian dominions in exchange for his own, we should soon see them make a very different appearance; he would raise much greater revenues, with far greater ease to the people; and would throw such a vigour into all the transactions, which the possession of Flanders and the Italian dominions would introduce him to, that the importance of them would speedily appear in a very different light from what they do at present.

The great object of attention at Vienna is the army; this is so far reprehensible in politics, as it encreases the necessity of laying a foundation previous to every superstructure: it is the revenue that pays and supports the army,

and

and all increaſe of the latter muſt depend on a foregoing increaſe of the former: to raiſe a great revenue is much more eſſential than to raiſe a great army; but the ſoldiers have a peculiar faculty of ſwallowing up a revenue, they have none at creating it. That prince, therefore, who would be truly formidable, ſhould attend to the proſperity of his income, before he thinks of greatly increaſing his troops.

The following are the particulars of the preſent ſtanding forces of the houſe of Auſtria. I inſert them on the ſame authority as the above paper of the revenue; believing, from other information which I have received, that it is near the truth; though I ſhould remark, that all liſts of armies are apt to exceed the reality, rather than fall beneath it.

	Men.
Dragoons	23,846
Cuiraſſiers	16,000
Huſſars and Croats	14,640
Hunters	6,300
Free troops	8,000
Infantry	165,386
Artillery	2,800
Total	235,972

The

The whole army, whatever the total may be, is certainly in excellent order; the regiments full, and well officered; their cloathing regularly delivered; their arms much better than ever; the artillery very numerous; and no expence has been ſpared in forming engineers; the magazines of ammunition and all ſorts of military ſtores full, and in good order: theſe attentions have occupied the court ever ſince the peace, and they have been indefatigable in them. Now that all theſe particulars are compleated, they are employed in repairing all the fortifications in Bohemia, Moravia, Auſtria, Hungary, and Tranſilvania; new ones are in ſome places erecting, and many old ones greatly improved; this is a work of immenſe expence, and conſequently it goes on ſlowly. In every one of theſe particulars, the Auſtrians ſtrength is greater than at the breaking out of the laſt war. I before remarked, that the caſe was the ſame with the King of Pruſſia. Theſe potentates are certainly jealous of each other, but, I believe, in no reſpect that threatens a freſh war; but the ſtate of affairs in other parts makes it neceſſary for them to be ſtrongly armed. The aſpect of affairs in Pruſſia and Poland fills the houſe of Auſtria with uneaſineſs; and although Pruſſia eſpouſes in her manifeſtos

feſtos the ſame cauſe in Poliſh affairs as the Ruſſian Empreſs, ſtill it can only be becauſe the power of that empire is too great for him to break with. Moſt certainly the increaſe of the formidableneſs of Ruſſia ought, in good politics, to fill both Pruſſia and Auſtria with the deepeſt jealouſy: future alliances with it, in caſe of a new war with Germany, muſt be very uncertain; and againſt whoever ſhe declares, her weight will probably fall too heavy to be reſiſted. The opportunity of the war between the Ruſſians and Turks has generally been taken by the Auſtrians for attacking the Porte: ſuch a meaſure now would inſure the reſtoration of Belgrade and Servia, and perhaps yet greater advantages; but not making uſe of it may be owing to two reaſons: firſt, in return for the Turks not playing the ſame game when the Empreſs Queen was at war with Pruſſia; and ſecondly, becauſe ſuch a conduct would give greater advantages to the arms of Ruſſia than the houſe of Auſtria wiſhes to ſee.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Journey from Vienna through Auſtria—Deſcription of the Archduchy—Bavaria—Munich—Revenues and Forces.

JULY 1ſt I leſt Vienna, and that day travelled forty miles to St. Poltu, through a very various country. Near Vienna it is very gay, being lightly adorned with villas, which have extenſive gardens and planted groves about them, but all in a miſerable taſte. I ſtopped to view one pretty near the road, which the poſtilions told me belonged to a great nobleman at court; a deſcription of the ground before the houſe will give a tolerable idea of the taſte moſt prevalent here in ornamenting their country ſeats. A canal with a ſmall bridge over it in the center parted the area before the houſe from the road: from the bridge to the houſe door was about an hundred yards; a broad ſtone-way led from one to the other; on each ſide, ranged in exact order, was a ſtatue, an urn, and a croſs interchangeably; theſe were on a ſlip of graſs: on the other ſide two canals nicely laid out, like the former, by rule, and at each corner of the three a ſtatue. The ground on each ſide was formed into

into a graſs-plat, ſurrounded by a parterre of flowers, and in the center of each plat a ſmall fountain. From theſe particulars of the approach to a rural villa, all unſeen may be very exactly gueſſed; and it evidently appears that the Auſtrians are at leaſt one hundred years behind us in the art of gardening. It is the ſame with the French, and all the other nations of Europe. In ſome gardens I was ſhewn when in Italy, before I was told that they were executed in imitation of nature, upon the plan of my countryman Brown, whoſe fame had reached there; and it is not eaſy to be conceived how ridiculous every thing was; the leaſt deviations from line and compaſs work, amidſt a great deal of it, were eſteemed exertions in the art of imitating nature. A more ridiculous jumble was never ſeen; much worſe than thoſe made purely artificial.

Ornamenting a piece of ground in the manner of our great gardener, and in the taſte yet ſuperior, in which ſome private gentlemen in England have laid out their grounds, is an art that requires genius, and more attention than will ever be given to it in countries where they reſide ten months out of the twelve in the capital, and very many the other two alſo: where this is the caſe the expence will not be ſpared, for what is wanting in every thing that relates

lates to the country; no article about a nobleman while he resides in the country in England, but what infinitely exceeds that of any foreign nobleman of equal fortune. Their wealth is all expended upon their town houses and their town residence; it is not therefore to be wondered at any more, that the English have not such fine palaces in London, or that the French and Italians have not such fine country seats.

These forty miles do not exhibit an agriculture that is very flourishing, yet the country is not much in want of people, for the towns and villages are thick. The soil is in general very good, but they do not seem to have any ideas of cultivating it with neatness: wild shrubbery grounds are suffered to break into the corn, in ragged borders, and small waste spots, where the plough, upon account of some hillock, or hole, does not go, are left covered with weeds, to blow all over their fallows: they have no idea of cleaning such spots by way of prevention, and such numbers of them as I saw in this day's journey would not be met with in half an English county. They sow large quantities of saffron, which they reckon a profitable culture, an acre yielding a produce of about three pounds, if the crop is good. There are many vineyards,

but the wine ſells ſo badly, that they aſſured me, corn and ſaffron were in general much better and more profitable; and they do not confine their vines to tracks improper for ploughing.

Wheat, barley, rye, peaſe, and beans, are commonly cultivated, but no oats; the crops are but middling. Turneps, turnep cabbages, cabbages, and potatoes, are cultivated in large quantities; the former for cattle, and the potatoes for fattening hogs, for which they boil them. They have large herds of ſwine, which feed all ſummer long in the woods, many of which are extenſive. Horned cattle are alſo very plentiful here; and as they houſe them in the winter, they raiſe large quantities of dung, which ought to enſure a much better huſbandry than theirs. I paſſed a ſmall farm, near St. Poltu, that was cut out of a waſte, and to appearance a barren common, on the ſide of a large hill, diſpoſed into ten fields by beautiful quick hedges, which put me in mind of the beſt cultivated part of England: the incloſures riſing one above another, on the ſide of the hill, were ſeen diſtinctly from the road; they were covered with various crops, which appeared much ſuperior to thoſe of the cultivated parts of the country I had paſſed; the houſe was ſmall but extremely neat. As ſoon as I had looked attentively

tively at this very agreeable ſight I was going to make up to it; but recollecting that I ſhould be in the dark, I determined to go on to the ſtage, and come next morning to view that farm, which ſeemed a creation in the midſt of a deſart.

I accordingly put my intention in execution the morning of the 2d, and returned about three miles to the place, and aſking for the maſter of it, he appeared immediately; a fine tall, open-countenanced ſoldier, in an old ſuit of regimentals. I deſired to ſee his farm, upon which he very readily walked with me into it. I went through all the ten incloſures; the hedges were regularly planted, and had each of them a ditch; the gates were all in good order, and every thing carried an appearance of neatneſs, moſt uncommon in Germany. He had three meadows, each of them watered by a ſmall ſtream he had brought from the hill above his farm; it filled a little pond for watering the cattle, and might be conducted at pleaſure, in the proper ſeaſon, over all parts of the fields for manuring them, which he practiſes in winter and ſpring. He had a field of wheat, another of barley, two of clover, and three of turneps and cabbages; and his fields were all much of the ſame ſize, being each about ſix Engliſh acres. Turneps and cabbages he grew on his fallow

for cleaning the land; ſucceeded them with barley, and then took clover, upon which he ſows his wheat. This huſbandry, which nearly reſembles the beſt of Flanders, ſurprized me in the midſt of Auſtria, where nothing of the kind is to be found. He keeps a dairy of cows, a ſmall flock of ſheep on the neighbouring waſte, and oxen for ploughing and carting; he houſes all his cattle in winter; his ſheep every night in ſheep houſes; and litters every thing well with fern, which he cuts upon the waſte. He is extremely attentive to raiſing large quantities of dung, which he manages by keeping as many cattle as he poſſibly can, and by mixing turf and virgin earth with his dung as the cattle make it all winter long; by this means he is enabled to manure threefields, or eighteen acres, very richly every year; but what gives a virtue to his dunghill ſuperior to any thing elſe, is his bringing all the human ordure away from the little town of Poltu, for which ſome of the inhabitants, ignorant of its value, give a trifle for taking it away: he is at the expence of cleaning all the neceſſaries there, and of carting it to his farm: he mixes it up with his dung and virgin earth, and aſſures me that it forms the richeſt compoſt in the world: all the manure he raiſes in this manner being applied to his turnep and cabbage grounds, he gets

gets prodigious crops of thoſe vegetables; and I remarked that they were kept perfectly free from weeds by hoeing: his cabbages are all planted in regular rows on ridges, and the ſpaces between the rows ploughed ſeveral times while growing, as well to kill the weeds as to keep the land in good tillage; all which appeared to me to be an excellent ſyſtem. His crops of wheat yield four quarters an acre; his barley five; his clover gives four tons of hay at two mowings; and his turneps and cabbages maintain a vaſt flock: an acre of the former he reckons ſufficient to winter-feed two oxen or cows; one of cabbages will winter three or four; but the expences of them are higher. All theſe crops, I ſuppoſe, are equal to the beſt cultivated parts of England.

Upon returning to his houſe he gave me his hiſtory. He was a corporal in a regiment of foot, quartered during ſix years in Flanders and Brabant, where, as he had always a ſtrong bent towards huſbandry, he remarked very minutely their practices, and often worked in the fields for Flemiſh farmers. Upon the war breaking out with the king of Pruſſia he was early in that ſervice, and made a ſerjeant, in which capacity he behaved ſo much to Marſhal Daun's ſatisfaction at the battle of Hockchirken, in ſight of him, that he gave him pro-

miſes upon the ſpot of promotion; theſe were not thought of afterwards, till being repreſented by another perſon to the Empreſs Queen, and allowed by Count Daun, ſhe perſonally aſked him, in the preſence of the whole court, if he had any particular requeſt to make: upon which he aſked his diſcharge, and a piece of this waſte to cultivate, being born in the pariſh. It was granted at once; and further, his ſovereign built him the houſe and offices directly, and gave him an hundred pounds to ſtock the farm with. With this ſmall beginning he went to work directly, and in nine years has raiſed every thing to the ſtate I ſaw. His induſtry is unbounded: though a continued ſucceſs has attended all his undertakings, and his crops prove as fine as poſſible, bringing him in large ſums of money, yet he continues to work with the ſame ſeverity as ever, and does much the greateſt part of all the buſineſs of his farm with his own hands; he has a ſon about twenty-five who executes the reſt. The Empreſs has been twice to ſee him, and expreſſed the higheſt approbation of his conduct, and made him a handſome preſent. His methods have been put in execution, under his own direction, upon the eſtates of two noblemen in the neighbourhood, and with good ſucceſs;

ceſs; ſo that this worthy ſoldier is like to be of more benefit to his country than half a dozen generals; and ſhews that nothing is of more importance than to eſtabliſh ſuch examples as theſe in various parts of a dominion: for although they may ſpread ſlowly, yet they certainly will ſpread, and that they cannot do without being of very great public benefit.

By night I reached a little town called Munſbery, being half way to Lintz, at the diſtance of thirty miles from Poltu, through a country that is cultivated in a very different manner from the ſoldier's farm I had left, whoſe name (by the way) is Picco. The crops are in general bad and very full of weeds; and they ſeem to plough the ſoil very badly, although their ploughs are drawn by ſix oxen, and they have two men, or a man and a lad, to drive them, with another man to hold the plough: it is evident from this that the price of labour is low, or the farmer, that is the nobility, could not allow ſuch a ſuperfluity of hands; but while the time of the peaſants belongs to their lords, without any pay, ſuch inſtances will be very common; but the whole ſyſtem makes a very different figure from my friend Picco's, whoſe farm is a contraſt to the whole archduchy. They cultivate many hops, ſaffron, and vines, and

theſe articles exhauſt all their lands applied to common huſbandry of the dung which they ought to have, without yielding a return proportioned. Picco, when I aſked him why he did not cultivate theſe articles, aſſured me that none of them equalled common crops in profit, provided the latter were managed in the manner they ought to be; and of this I ought to have no doubt, for all theſe uncommon articles require a great deal of attention, and an infinity of labour, eſpecially vines, while the produce is of ſuch a bad ſort that the returns are inconſiderable. Near Lintz the country improves much, being in itſelf finely variegated with hills and dales, wood and water; it is alſo better cultivated: there is a very little waſte land, and many ſeats of the nobility are ſcattered about it, attracted, I ſuppoſe, by the agreeableneſs of the country.

Lintz is extremely well ſituated on the banks of the Danube: it is ſmall, well built, and a neat place; the ſtreets well paved, and kept very clean. What ſets off the buildings in an unuſual manner, is the materials of which they are raiſed, being a white ſtone that preſerves its colour. The market-place is large and handſome, and is adorned with two fountains. The Empreſs has a palace here, well furniſhed, which from an high ſituation overlooks the courſe of the Danube

very

very beautifully: ſhe uſed to come here often, but has not of late years. The Jeſuits college is one of the beſt buildings in the place, and the library has the reputation of being remarkably well choſen. This place is the capital of Upper Auſtria, for the ſtates aſſemble no where elſe. For its ſize, it is very populous, which is owing to ſome manufactures they have that are flouriſhing, particularly that of woollen goods, and of ſilk and worſted; alſo gun-barrels, for which they are famous. The wool they work up is that of Auſtria, and much comes from Bohemia; all the fabricks employ 6, or 700 hands.

The 5th I got to Newberg in Bavaria, the diſtance forty miles. This line of country is all very agreeable, from the inequalities of the ground, and its open groves, with many rivers; nor is it wanting in numerous little towns and villages, the neighbourhood of the Danube drawing many inhabitants, by the conſtant trade carried on upon it; and by the numerous boats, barges, ſloops, &c. which paſs and repaſs upon all ſorts of buſineſs. I obſerved hops, ſaffron, and vines were common culture, and ſome flax, which is made into coarſe linens in the neighbouring towns. Newberg is a little place, but very well built, and remarkably clean. The Elector Palatine is ſovereign of the duchy, of which it is the capital;

capital; and has a ſmall palace here, which however contains nothing worth ſeeing. The Jeſuits church is the beſt public edifice in the place. The only trade of Newberg is wine, but very little of it is good; ſeveral ſorts are ſold ſo cheap as three halfpence a quart.

The 6th I reached Muldorf, the diſtance fifty miles, through a very fine, populous, and well cultivated country being part of the Electorate of Bavaria. There ſeems through this line of country, to be more induſtry, activity and happineſs, than in any I had paſſed for a long while; and yet the peaſants are in a ſtate of villainage as well as elſewhere, but they are treated in a kinder manner, have more property and better houſes; and many of them are alſo farmers, who by induſtry and frugality have ſaved money, and find out the means of diſpoſing of it to good advantage. Much of this country is encloſed, than which there cannot be any improvement of ſo much conſequence; and the preſent Elector has given many privileges and encouragements to all who encloſe their farms, as well as exempting them from antient cuſtoms and rights, which were extremely injurious to open lands. There are many vineyards in this country, and the wine is better than that of Auſtria. Sheep ſeem to be a principal article in their huſbandry; they keep great numbers, and of a better

a better breed than common; which I am told was originally owing to procuring ſome rams from Flanders. They yield large fleeces, and there are many manufactories for working up the the wool, which receive great encouragement from the government. Every farm of any ſize, (that is, every diviſion of an eſtate that is under a diſtinct ſteward or bailiff) has a large ſheep-houſe, with a roof, but open on one ſide to the ſouth; in this houſe they fold their ſheep every night the whole year round, and depend on it principally for manuring their lands: when they begin to fold, they ſpread over the floor light virgin ſoil, turf, ſand, or peat earth, and fold upon it till it is very moiſt and dirty; then they make a freſh layer, and ſo go on; but to every eighteen inches of depth, (for they remove the heap but once a year) they litter with ſtraw; and in extreme wet or ſnowy weather they do the ſame. This is upon the whole an excellent ſyſtem for raiſing manure, and is a Flemiſh cuſtom, though with one or two variations: but I ſhould think the ſheep lying upon ſuch a dunghill would be prejudicial to their health; however, the Bavarians aſſert the contrary, and ſay that the health of the animal does not ſuffer in the leaſt; and that the wool is much better than it would be if the ſheep were expoſed to the weather.

Muldorf

Muldorf is a little town, agreeably ſituated, and regularly fortified, but is not a place of any great ſtrength; the ſtreets are broad, ſtrait, and well built, and the market-place ſpacious, and ſurrounded with ſeveral buildings that are a great ornament to it. There are ſeveral churches and convents, but none that contain any thing remarkable.

The 7th I got to Munich, the diſtance ſeven and thirty miles, and the country agreeable and well cultivated: there are many more nobility who reſide conſtantly on their lands in this country, than in any I have ſeen in Germany; and to this I attribute the advantage of the ſuperior cultivation: for as the nobles are the farmers, it is no wonder that eſtates there are managed better under the maſter's eye than in his abſence. Although there are not many of them that are proficients in agriculture, yet a life paſſed in the midſt of its buſineſs, muſt yield a greater knowledge of its circumſtances than one which is entirely employed in the parade of a court. Beſides, there can be little doubt but the nobles themſelves treat their peaſants better than the race of bailiffs, agents, &c. who uſually oppreſs and ſqueeze them the more, in order to have the better opportunity of enriching themſelves; and I find it evident, wherever I have been in Germany, that the landlords

landlords are the richeſt, and their eſtates the beſt cultivated, where the peaſants are allowed ſome degree of liberty and property. The happier that race of people, the better for the nobles; the latter will not in all caſes be brought to believe this, but nothing admits of clearer proof.

Their corn through this track of country looked very well; and I obſerved particularly, that their fallows intended for next year were well ploughed, and clean; whereas they are full of weeds in many parts of Germany, and made ſuch bad management as I had ſeen in Auſtria. The ſoil here is a rich loam, with ſome light tracks: they plough chiefly with oxen. They fallow their lands for wheat, and then ſow barley; after the barley, they take peaſe or buck-wheat, and then turneps, or cabbages; but they do not ſow any clover which the Auſtrian ſoldier, and all Flanders and Brabant, find ſo profitable. Wheat yields two quarters and an half per acre, barley three, and buck-wheat four; and their turneps and cabbages are applied to feeding their cattle and ſheep; but all are houſed in winter.

Munich I think, without exception, is the fineſt city in Germany; Dreſden, while in its grandeur, I am told ſurpaſſed it; and ſome parts of Berlin are very beautiful, but, all things conſidered, they now yield to this place.

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It is ſituated on the river Iſer, which dividing into ſeveral channels, waters all parts of the town: ſo that little ſtreams run thro' many of the ſtreets, confined in ſtone channels, which have a moſt clean and agreeable effect. The ſtreets, ſquares, and courts are ſpacious and airy, which ſet off all the buildings much, and make them appear finer than others much more coſtly in other cities. The ſtreets in particular are ſo ſtrait, that many of them interſect each other at right-angles, and are very broad, and extremely well built. There are ſixteen churches and monaſteries in it, many of them very handſome edifices; theſe, with the electoral palace, and other public buildings, take up near half the city, ſo that it may eaſily be ſuppoſed the place is in general very well built.

The principal of all theſe public edifices is the electoral palace, which is rather a convenient than an elegant building. It is very large, having four courts in it, and all of them large; but there is a want of finiſhing in the inſides of all the places in Germany that cannot fail diſguſting an Engliſhman, who has been uſed to ſee the houſes of the nobility in his own country finiſhed to the garrets as compleatly as a ſnuff-box; and certainly it is a moſt agreeable circumſtance. In the palace of Munich the fineſt room, which is the grand hall,

hall, being an hundred and eighteen feet long by fifty two broad, is open to the roof, ſo as entirely to deſtroy the effect which would reſult from ſuch a ſize if finiſhed: birds fly about it as in a barn, and drop their favours on the heads of the company as they paſs: I have in Germany ſeen many inſtances of unfiniſhing equal to this. There is a great profuſion of marble in the ſeveral apartments, but it is not wrought in an agreeable manner. The furniture is in general old; it has been very rich, but has nothing in it ſtriking; nor is the collection of pictures comparable to many others in Germany. The Muſeum is well filled with many curioſities; of which, as Keyſler gives a liſt, I ſhall ſay no more of them. The Jeſuits college is among the fineſt buildings belonging to the church: it is very ſpacious. The great church, and the Franciſcans monaſtery, are alſo worth ſeeing; the latter order is poſſeſſed of very great revenues. Several palaces of the nobility make a very good figure, and the town-houſe is better than many I have ſeen. The number of inhabitants is computed at fifty thouſand.

The palaces moſt worth ſeeing are the Elector's country ones of Sleiſheim and Nymphenburg, near Munich. Sleiſheim is a fine building, and much better finiſhed than that

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of Munich; the portico ſupported by marble pillars is fine: in the apartments, which are furniſhed in an agreeable manner, is a very good collection of pictures, but they are chiefly by Flemiſh maſters. Nymphenburg exhibits a German taſte of gardening in perfection, the Bavarians holding them to be the fineſt in the empire; the ſituation, wood, and water would admit of ſomething beautiful, but here is nothing but the old-faſhioned fountains, ſtatues, monſters, &c.

It is thought by moſt perſons at Munich, as well as in other parts of Germany, that the electorate of Bavaria has thoroughly recovered the miſchiefs it ſuffered in the war of 1744, and is now as rich and as populous as ever. The electoral revenues are reckoned to amount to ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year, and are improving: the ſtanding army conſiſts of eleven thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; but the Bavarians ſay, their prince could bring forty thouſand men into the field: however, it is certain, that if he could bring them there, he could not maintain them, without their being in the pay of foreigners. While the houſe of Bavaria continues on good terms with that of Auſtria, there is no danger of its ſuffering by the electorate being again made the ſeat of war.

F I N I S.